TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS OF AMERICA

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

AMERICA

BY

THOMAS ANBUREY

LIEUTENANT IN THE ARMY OF GENERAL BURGOYNE

WITH A FOREWORD BY

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM HARDING CARTER

VOLUME II

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TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS OF AMERICA

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS

BY AN OFFICER

IN TWO VOLUMES

Τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν νυν;
Ἵνα γνῶτε, καὶ αἴσθησθε αμφότερα.

DEMOSTH. OLYNTH.

VOLUME II

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

AMERICA

LETTER XLII

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 17, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN military operations, the conqueror is delighted to honor the good conduct and bravery of the defeated, not only by the secret approbation of his own heart, which induces him to respect a gallant behaviour, even in an enemy, but because his ambition is agreeably flattered by the conquest of those who had rendered themselves formidable by their bravery — and no doubt but from these motives, General Gates being fully sensible of the mortification attending our reverse of fortune, and not wishing to add any circumstance that might aggravate our present calamity, kept his army within their camp during the time we were piling up our

arms, that they might not be spectators of so humiliating a scene.

Our situation, although unfortunate, is not the first instance of an army's capitulating, witness the convention at Closterhauven, which was so shamefully broke; and if you look farther back into history, you will find, that exactly a century ago, the army under the Duke of Saxe Eysenack, which had been considerably weakened by the losses and fatigues of the campaign, was under the necessity of surrendering to the Marshal de Crequi, who granted a passport, conceived in very humble terms to the Duke of Saxe Eysenack, allowing him permission to pass with his army by a particular route, and all the officers, troopers, and common soldiers of the French army, were expressly forbid to offer the least injury or insult, either to the Duke or his army, in their return to Germany.

In this latter point General Gates imitated the Marshal, for after we had piled up our arms and our march was settled, as we passed the American army, throughout the whole of them I did not observe the least disrespect, or even a taunting look, but all was mute astonishment and pity — and it gave us no little pleasure to find that the antipathy so long shewn us was consigned to oblivion, elevated to that treatment which the authorized maxims and practices of war enjoin, civil deportment to a captured enemy, unsullied with the exulting air of victors.

For want of the advantages of an immediate, ex-

act, and regular communication with the southern army, ill success has been the consequence. The sad event of our expedition evinces the necessity of confiding the plan of war to a General, who might improve every conjuncture by changing discretionally the route and species of the war. If our Commander's orders had been general, and not such absolute ones as could not be varied from, (of which he made us acquainted on the morning of our surrender) he would not have been under the necessity of engaging the King's army in any hazardous attempt, as he might have recrossed the Hudson's, and changed the war to the defensive.

People are very apt to draw conclusions from what they think ought to be, and form systems which circumstances must alter. No doubt but it will be generally thought in England, as we had reduced Ticonderoga, and had only twenty-five miles to Albany, the place of our intended destination, it was easy to accomplish it, without considering the delays and impediments we have met with. This hasty kind of doctrine you must often have been witness to, from the spirited hopes and expectation of our national feelings.

Our melancholy catastrophe will be a caution to others in power, in their directions to a General; this expedition appears to have been planned by those, who, sitting in their closets, with a map before them, ridiculously expect the movements of an army to keep pace with their rapid ideas, not only directing general operations, but particular move-

ments of a campaign, carried on through a country in interior desarts, and at a distance of three thousand miles, without allowing the General who is to conduct that army, to be invested with powers for changing the mode of war, as circumstances may occur.

It was universally understood throughout the army, that the object of our expedition was to effect a junction with that under General Howe, and by such means become masters of the Hudson's river, dividing the northern from the southern provinces. You can easily conceive the astonishment it occasioned, when we were informed that General Howe's army had gone to Philadelphia, and it was the more increased, as we could not form to ourselves any idea how such a step would facilitate, or effect a junction.

It is natural to suppose, when two armies are to meet, that the northern one would advance to the southward, and the southern to the northward; or if they are to meet any where about the center between each, that they would set out in those directions, much about the same time. But it should seem that those who have the direction at home of the armies upon this Continent, despising such simple and natural means of effecting a junction, dispatch the army at New York further south, and send the army from Canada in the same direction, that if both continued their course till doomsday, it would be impossible to meet. I am too much afraid those at the head of affairs too im-

plicitly credited every report, and are continually led away by the false information of men who are interested in the deception, and are profiting by the common calamities of England and America.

The courage, resolution and patience of the army in enduring the hardships of the campaign in general, but more particularly the conclusion of it, must fully refute an invidious charge of foreigners in general, particularly the French, that the English are unfit for the hardships of war, and though brave and intrepid in the field, are not capable of enduring fatigue, without the conveniencies of life.

Throughout the whole campaign, the men had not a morsel of bread, but mixed up their flour into cakes, and baked them upon a stone before a fire; very seldom spirits to cheer them after fatiguing days, in clearing away the woods for encampments, repairing roads, and constructing bridges; seldom fresh provisions; scanty and miserable as the allowance to a soldier is, it was reduced to half its quantity on the 3d of October. After the action of the 19th of September, the men continually slept with their accoutrements on, and after the action on the 7th, never had a tent to shelter them from the heavy and almost incessant rains that fell from that time till the convention, without the refreshment of spirits during this period; and after our arrival at Saratoga, debarred of that very essential to the health and convenience of troops, water, although close to a fine rivulet, it being at the hazard of life, in the day time, to get any, from the number of

riflemen the enemy had posted in trees, and at night the men were prevented, as they were sure to be taken prisoners, if they attempted it. All the water that the army was supplied with was from a very muddy spring, and what they could get out of the holes the cattle made with their feet; by way of luxury, and to render their provisions more palateable, when it rained hard, the men used to catch it in their caps, to mix with their flour.

Officers in general fared the same as the soldiers, most of them young campaigners, and not so provident of their liquors, relying upon a fresh supply that was following the army. This was the only time in life I found money of little use: how deceived we are in our opinion, that it constitutes *all* our happiness! — I was not the only one who, when drenching wet and shivering with cold, would have given a guinea for a glass of any spirit.

One day I thought fortune had pointed me out as one of her favorites, for my servant came and informed me he had met with a woman who had half a pint of New England rum to dispose of, but she would not part with it under a guinea. I hastened him back for it, lest any one should offer the woman more, which I was sensible would be the case, if known. I would myself have given treble for half the quantity, being apprehensive of an ague, from being continually in wet cloaths, and exposed day and night to all weathers. You will not accuse me of a churlish disposition, but

when I obtained the rum, necessity, contrary to inclination, rendered me extremely so.

Upon our arrival at Saratoga, three companies of our regiment, one of which was that I belong to, were posted in a small redoubt, close to the creek; our situation was by no means capable of making any great defence, but merely to observe if the enemy passed the creek in any force: had they attempted it, we were to have kept up a firing during their crossing, then to have abandoned our station, and joined the main body of the army. This post was a small square redoubt, constructed with logs breast high, and the only shelter afforded to the troops was from those angles which faced the enemy, as the others were so exposed, that we had several men killed and wounded in the redoubt by the riflemen, who were posted in trees; we could discern them every morning at day-break, taking their situations upon the most lofty trees they met with, by which means they commanded some of the interior parts of the redoubt. Our situation was such, that a man risqued his life if he ventured in the day time to look over the works; and to convince you how sure these men are of hitting their mark, the soldiers, out of derision, would hoist up a cap upon a stick over the works, when instantly there would be one or two shot fired at it, and as many holes through it. I have seen a cap that has been perforated with three balls. We certainly could have dislodged such troublesome neighbours, or prevented their ascending the trees, but we had

orders not to fire, as it might bring on a skirmishing attack, whilst the enemy were meditating another of greater importance.

The men were so harrassed and fatigued with continually sitting and lying on the ground, all huddled in a small compass, that three days before the convention took place, they complained to the Captain who commanded, that they were not permitted to fire upon the enemy, whereby they could obtain more ease, and therefore ought to be relieved, and they received for answer, when night came on it should be mentioned to the General. The Captain desired me to go to head-quarters, and when I arrived there, I found they partook of the hardships in common, for the three Generals had just laid down on their mattrasses, having only an oil-skin to cover them from the weather; the Aid-de-Camps were sitting round a fire. I went up to your old acquaintance, Noble, of the 47th regiment, as being known to him, and related the purport of my business, which he immediately communicated to General Phillips. While he was speaking, I am sure I shall never forget the eagerness and anxiety depicted in General Burgoyne's countenance, when he started from his slumber, hastily enquiring what was the matter. General Phillips informed him it was a trifling business about relieving a post, when he lay down again to refresh his wearied spirits, appearing almost exhausted by a continual state of agitation. After receiving an answer that the post should be relieved, I returned to the

redoubt. The men anxiously expected it, but were greatly disappointed by the appearance of day-break, as knowing no relief could arrive then, and that they had another day's vexation to encounter from these rifle-men. It was with the greatest difficulty the officers could prevent the men from firing at them, and this only with a promise that they should have permission, if they were not relieved at night. Perhaps you will say, the soldiers had reason for complaint, for many of them, by being kept in such a confined situation, were so cramped, that they could scarcely walk — but we were relieved at last.

During the time I was posted in this redoubt, Lieutenant Smith, of the artillery, came one evening to see me, and upon my relating our distress as to liquors, desired me to send my servant to him the next night, and he would send me a case bottle of rum. I now thought fortune was heaping favors on me, but to shew you what a fickle creature she is, when I sent my servant the next evening, instead of returning with the comfort I was promising myself from such an acquisition, he brought me a message, that Mr. Smith was extremely sorry he could not fulfil his promise, as a cannon shot had, in the course of the day, gone through his canteen, and demolished every thing in it.

The day before the convention took place, I was compelled to acquiesce in an action that distressed my feelings much, in making away with the little colt that my mare had dropped, as my servant told

me it would weaken my mare, that, to use the fellow's words, if *ever* we march from this encampment, she will not be able to convey your baggage; at the same time adding, from the time we had arrived there she had had nothing to eat, but the dried leaves he could gather up for her; this was the situation of the horses throughout the army. Some servants let their horses stray about in the deep ravine, where they were stationed to shelter them from the cannon shot, and so sure, as a poor horse was allured by the temptation of some refreshing grass, that grew in the meadows in great abundance, it met with instant death from a rifle shot. On the plain where we piled up our arms, there were numbers of dead horses, from the stench of which, and from the performance of so humiliating an act, you will easily imagine our haste in quitting such a spot. I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XLIII

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 19, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OUR expedition, for you must pardon my dwelling on a subject so near my heart, was certainly undertaken with every prospect of success, not only from the goodness of the troops, but the excellence of the Generals. The many difficulties, though in some measure foreseen, were not expected to be such as they have too fatally proved themselves; we had hitherto considered them only what perseverance would overcome. Our progress amidst complicated impediments and innumerable distresses, was really wonderful, and the failure must not be considered so surprizing as the perseverance and spirit with which we struggled against it.

People who judge impartially, will make a distinction between misconduct and misfortune. It is true the intent of our expedition has failed — General Burgoyne was too deeply interested in the national honor, to shrink from undertaking what only appeared hazardous — who can blame him, for not executing with an army that always acted like Britons, what was impossible.

Throughout the whole campaign, the General has not only been the Commander of the army, but

fully demonstrated he was equally as good a soldier; amidst all the hardships and difficulties we had to encounter, the attachment of all ranks to him was unshaken, and during the incessant labors, disappointments and distresses we experienced, there was not the least murmur or discontent throughout the army; nay, so strongly attached were they to his person, that when they found patience and courage had been exerted in vain, and all hopes of success at an end, they were ready to follow him to the field, and to die with their arms in their hands. No one could exhibit stronger proofs of magnanimity, nor take bolder or more decisive measures against the enemy, when humiliating terms were proposed. It should seem that he was determined, if fate had decreed the fall and total overthrow of his little army, to perish nobly, and to leave his name unsullied to future ages.

I am yours, &c.

LETTER XLIV

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 20, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

GENERAL BURGOYNE had not the advantages of prosecuting war in this part of America, attendant on Lord Amherst and General Braddock, for in the last the difficulties arising from the natural strength of the country, were for the most part removed by the friendly dispositions of the inhabitants, who chearfully exerted themselves to facilitate the movements of the King's army, at the same time supplying them with every requisite accommodation; and I am confident, when I assert, that had not the Generals in the last war been furnished with these resources, neither of them would have made the rapid progress that was accomplished.

The progress of our army was on the frontiers of the New England provinces, whose people are universally disloyal, and furnish such immense bodies of militia, it is really surprizing that we advanced so far, without any co-operation with the southern army.

If General Howe had his reasons for not proceeding up the north river, and wished to strike terror into some of the provinces, I think there were none he could so well have directed that terror against,

as those of New England; for by a diversion on the coast of Massachusetts, many benefits would have resulted: it would have kept the New Englanders at home for the internal defence of their own provinces, and impeded the levies for the continental army. Such a diversion would have been a co-operation with our army, and no doubt have prevented the misfortunes that have befallen it, the principal part of the army under General Gates being composed of the militia of the New England provinces, who must have been drawn down to the defence of the cities upon that coast, in which case our army could not have failed to overcome every possible difficulty, and have effected a junction with the detachment that was sent up the North River, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, from which detachment it certainly was obvious, that the object of the two armies were the same, that of forming a junction.

Certainly then it behoved General Howe to see so large and important a reinforcement as our army would have been to his, in a state of perfect security at least, before he carried his so far to the southward, as to deprive him of the power of support. That our army was to be considered as no other than a reinforcement to General Howe's, is evident from the very orders given out by General Carleton, at the opening of the campaign, stating, "That his "Majesty had ordered him to detach General Bur-"goyne with certain troops, who was to proceed "with all possible expedition to join General Howe,

"and put himself under his command;" at the same time adding this powerful reason, "with a view "of quelling the rebellion it is become highly neces- "sary, that the most speedy junction of the two "armies should be effected."

By the junction of the two armies, we should have been in possession of the North River, from New-York to Albany, which divides the northern from the southern provinces. General Washington would in that case have been totally deprived of the great supplies of men and provisions from the New England States; and the British army would have been enabled to make excursions into either provinces, as occasion might serve: the main part of the army might have kept Washington at bay, while a few redoubts, with the assistance of our shipping, would have preserved the entire possession of the river.

General Howe's carrying his army far to the southward, confirmed an idea the northern Provinces have imbibed, that after the affair of Bunker's-hill, and the evacuation of Boston, no Britons will ever land again upon their coast; it inspired them with new hopes, it invigorated their spirits, and greatly contributed to increase the numbers of General Gates's army, which at the time of the convention amounted to 18,000. Every candid and liberal mind will allow our resolution during the treaty of the convention was magnanimous, when it is considered our army only consisted of 3,500 opposed to such numbers.

It may be urged, that General Howe's going to the southward was to draw off Washington from our army. He was then at Quibble-town, 200 miles distant from us when we met the enemy at Stillwater, and General Howe's force was at New-York, which was 40 miles nearer, in some measure situated between our army and Washington's, therefore he could not move towards us without General Howe's knowledge, nor could Washington proceed to Albany by water for want of shipping and craft, or march by land in less than a fortnight, and that only by a road leading through a gap of a mountain. If General Washington had, by any forced and secret marches, passed this gap, before General Howe had taken post in the Jerseys to prevent it, he had an immense fleet of men of war and transports, fully sufficient to have carried his whole army to Albany in a week. It strikes me very forcibly, that General Howe's taking his army round Cape Charles, 350 miles more distant from Albany than he was at New York, could by no means contribute to effect a junction; and certainly it cannot be allowed that leading Washington from Quibble-town to Philadelphia, could possibly be any diversion of the least importance in favour of our army.

If it had been the intention of General Washington to have co-operated with any army that was to oppose ours, it does not appear to me how General Howe's going to the Chesapeak, which is 600 miles distant, and leaving Washington, who was 200 nearer to us, could possibly prevent it. The only

apparent means, for no doubt it was the intention of General Howe to draw off General Washington's army, and to prevent his acting against ours, would have been to have taken post between us; it would have been a check upon him, and that detachment that was sent up the North River would not have met with the many difficulties they encountered during their progress, at Montgomery and other forts. Even admitting General Washington's army to have been far superior as to numbers, there was nothing to apprehend; it was composed of new-raised and undisciplined troops, commanded by officers of little experience, mostly corps that had been defeated in every action, strangers to victory, and greatly dispirited — that of General Howe was perfectly disciplined, commanded by brave and experienced officers, the spirits of the men exalted above the effects of fear by their numerous and recent successes, for they had carried victory and conquest with them wherever they trod.

I will give you the opinion of General Washington himself, as it was related to me by Major Browne, whom I have been acquainted with since our arrival at this place, and who was at that time in the General's suite.

General Washington dreaded nothing so much as General Howe's army going up the North River: he was sensible of the difficulties his own must encounter in following it; he knew the ease and celerity by which the British army would be transported by water; his own had to march over moun-

tains, ravines, and strong defiles, and the provisions for his army would be all from the distant southern colonies; he knew that it would throw a great damp upon the spirits of the New England Provinces, especially their militia, and in a great measure prevent their joining Gates's army, and infallibly have saved ours. — This opinion being firmly fixed in his mind, when he was informed that General Howe was gone to the Chesapeak, he gave as little credit to the intelligence as we did, when the news of it was brought into our camp before the surrender; he fully disbelieved it, and concluded that such a measure was too absurd to be possible, and acted agreeable to the opinion he had formed; for when General Howe's fleet sailed from the Hook southward, he conceived it to be only a feint, therefore moved his army from Quibble-town to the northward, that he might more conveniently follow the British army up the North River, expecting every day to hear of the General's returning, and sailing his army to Albany: nor till he heard that the British fleet was at the Capes of the Delaware, did Washington march his army to the southward. When he received intelligence that the fleet had stood out again to sea, still so persuaded he was that General Howe would not act so contrary to true policy, as to go up the Chesapeak to Philadelphia, but that his intentions still were to go to the northward, that he marched his army to his northern post — not before he was perfectly certain that the British fleet was near the head of the

Elk, did he quit that post, and march his army to the southward. — Thus, you see, the conduct of General Washington entirely coincided with his declared and fixed sentiments.

That some great error has been committed, either unintentional or designed, must be evident to every one — where to fix it is impossible to say. — But time, that great discloser of all secrets, will no doubt reveal this, and, I hope, redeem the national honor and the national welfare.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XLV

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 20, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER we had piled up our arms, and our march settled, we moved forward, and spent the night on the spot where we had formerly erected our hospitals, of which place I sent you a drawing.

The next morning I went with another officer to visit General Fraser's grave: upon our arrival at the spot, we were struck with a contemplative silence at the awful scene that presented itself, the corpse having been taken up by the Americans, and the coffin scarcely covered over with earth. Upon recovering from our consternation, we called to some soldiers, who, with a pick-axe and shovel which happened to be in the redoubt, heaped more earth upon the coffin. The Americans had been guilty of great inhumanity in cannonading the corpse when going for interment, but disturbing it after burial would have disgraced a savage; the only reason they assigned was, that we had buried cannon, and not a corpse — a very improbable supposition. I rather imagine, and it is the best excuse, that they thought it was our money-chest.

As we crossed the river at Still-Water, we observed the army under General Gates marching to Albany, to join Putnam; the object of this junction was to give General Clinton a check, who was mov-

ing up the North River; and, to our mortification, we learn, that General Vaughan had advanced as far as Æsopus, which place is but a few miles from Albany. — This fully proves what I mentioned in my last, that a junction of the southern army with ours was fully intended, and had any certain intelligence of General Vaughan's advancing so far, arrived at our camp, we in all probability should not have surrendered.

Our army being so surrounded by the enemy, no certain intelligence could reach the camp; the three confidential spies whom the General had sent, after the action of the 19th of September, to New-York, had not returned; and since the convention, we have learnt, that one could get no farther than Albany, where he was obliged to be concealed in a Tory's house; another had the misfortune to be detected; and the third was Captain Scott, of our regiment, who got safe into New-York, and who was returning with General Vaughan's detachment, which, when opportunity offered, he was to have left, and made his way through the woods to our army. I really am persuaded, for want of intelligence that could be relied on, the failure of our expedition was compleated; and the honorable terms which have been granted were complied with so readily, because General Gates foresaw, if we had gained intelligence of any detachment being so near, we should have maintained our ground, in all extremities, notwithstanding his superiority of numbers.

In crossing the river, I had nearly lost my baggage, and those in the *batteaux* had a very narrow escape; about the center a horse proving very unruly, jumped over, and his hind legs hung upon the side of the *batteaux*, and very near overset it.

After we had crossed, we purchased some liquors and fresh provisions of the inhabitants; this purchase convinced us of the intrinsic value of the precious ore, as the Americans received our guineas with much cordiality, and gave us paper dollars in lieu, at the rate of nine for a guinea. Here I should observe to you, that the real value of a guinea is four dollars and two-thirds of a dollar, therefore, by this exchange, we got nearly double, which shews how considerable the distinction still is, notwithstanding their great veneration for Independency and Congress, between gold and paper.

In this instance we were taught a lesson, that things, however trifling of themselves, are sometimes of moment; had we taken a view of the reverse of our situation at Ticonderoga, we should not have so greatly despised and converted to all manner of uses, the many reams of paper dollars that were taken at that place. — Myself, among many other young soldiers, experienced the laugh of the old veterans, who had carefully saved several quires, in case of any reverse of fortune, and were procuring all manner of comforts for nothing, while we were parting with our guineas.

I am sorry to observe, the reciprocal esteem that had existed among all ranks of officers, and the sol-

ace and comfort they afforded each other, during our trying situation at Saratoga, seemed now to be done away; some were so inattentive to the dignity of their character, as to contend for the *devoirs* attendant on superior rank, in a state of adversity, which, if it does not level all distinction, should at least have softened the *hauteur* of command. Contest should have lain dormant, and emulation been confined to evincing the politeness of the real gentleman, in a situation where acts of humanity and friendship ought constantly to have conspired to insure the most perfect harmony.

As you admire frank conversation, I indulged a short vein of reflection on the false delicacy of aspiring too much; but we did not embarrass our own feelings in dwelling on that illiberal conduct, of which the officers concerned were so quickly ashamed, and for which, by the decency and decorum of their future behaviour, they made ample amends, as it would therefore have been ungenerous to harbour, we unanimously suppressed every idea of resentment.

An officer, during our march, had slipped away, unperceived, from the main body, too sensible of the coyness of that blind goddess, Fortune, he only requested her ladyship's aid to favour an innocent fraud; she smiled propitious; for having gone on before, and first reached a small village, he personated General Burgoyne and with such an air of confidence, and consequence too, that in spite of the inquisitive temper of the Americans (particularly

the peasants of New-England) their scruples were entirely satisfied, and being compleatly outwitted, they assigned him the best quarters. Upon our arrival at the place, after complimenting him with his ingenious device to obtain preferment, he relinquished his new dignity with a good grace, and received us dropping wet, after an uncomfortable march, with much hospitality.

We were two days in crossing the Green Mountains, which are a part of the chain of mountains that run through the whole Continent of America, more commonly known by the name of the Allegany Mountains: the roads across them were almost impassable, and to add to the difficulty, when we had got half over, there came on a very heavy fall of snow. After this, it is impossible to describe the confusion that ensued; carts breaking down, others sticking fast, some oversetting, horses tumbling with their loads of baggage, men cursing, women shrieking, and children squalling! It should seem that I was to encounter every unpleasant duty that can fall to the lot of an officer, for this very day I had the baggage guard; exclusive of being covered with snow, and riding about after the bat-men, to keep them together, and to assist each other, my attention was directed to a scene, which I did not think it possible human nature could have supported, for in the midst of the heavy snow-storm, upon a baggage-cart, and nothing to shelter her from the inclemency of the weather but a bit of an old oil-cloth, a soldier's wife was delivered of a

child, she and the infant are both well, and are now at this place. It may be said, that women who follow a camp are of such a masculine nature, they are able to bear all hardships; this woman was quite the reverse, being small, and of a very delicate constitution.

After we had passed the mountains, the first township we came to was Williamstown, where we soon found how choice we ought to be of our gold, as the farther we proceeded, we found it of greater value, the inhabitants enquiring if we wanted any paper money, and out-bidding each other; at this place we got eighteen and twenty for a guinea. It was rather remarkable, though they depreciated their Congress money in one way, they would not in another, for we never could get them to take our hard money for any article, making an allowance for the difference of exchange.

The night before we came to this town, being quartered at a small log-hut, I was convinced in how innocent a view the Americans look upon that indelicate custom they call *bundling*: though they have remarkable good feather beds, and are extremely neat and clean, still I preferred my hard mattrass, as being accustomed to it; this evening, however, owing to the badness of the roads, and the weakness of my mare, my servant had not arrived with my baggage, at the time for retiring to rest; there being only two beds in the house, I enquired which I was to sleep in, when the old woman replied, "Mr. Ensign," here I should observe to

you, that the New England people are very inquisitive as to the rank you have in the army: "Mr. En-"sign," says she, "Our Jonathan and I will sleep in "this, and our Jemima and you shall sleep in that." I was much astonished at such a proposal, and offered to sit up all night, when Jonathan immediately replied, "Oh, la! Mr. Ensign, you won't be "the first man our Jemima has bundled with, will "it Jemima?" when little Jemima, who, by the bye, was a very pretty black-eyed girl, of about 16, or 17, archly replied, "No, Father, by many, but it "will be with the first Britainer," (the name they give to Englishmen.) In this dilemma, what could I do? — the smiling invitation of pretty Jemima — the eye, the lip, the — Lord ha' mercy, where am I going to? — but wherever I may be going to now, I did not go to bundle with her — in the same room with her father and mother, my kind *host* and *hostess* too! — I thought of that — I thought of more besides — to struggle with the passions of nature; to clasp Jemima in my arms — to — do what? you'll ask — why, to do — nothing! for if amid all these temptations, the lovely Jemima had melted into kindness, she had been an outcast from the world — treated with contempt, abused by violence, and left perhaps to perish! — No, Jemima; I could have endured all this to have been blessed with you, but it was too vast a sacrifice, when you was to be victim! — Suppose how great the test of virtue must be, or how cold the American constitution, when this unaccountable

custom is in hospitable repute, and perpetual practice.

We every morning look from our barracks to the mouth of Boston harbour, hoping to catch a look of the fleet of transports that is to convey us to England, to which place I now turn all my thoughts, and in expectation of soon enjoying your friendship personally, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XLVI

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 25, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

ON our march to this place, we were fully convinced what powerful levies the New England states are capable of furnishing; for exclusive of those that had joined Gates, and were marched to the southward, every town we passed through was raising two or three companies, to join General Washington's army.

The wants and miseries of the inhabitants in general are inconceivable, even to the conveniences of life, yet you would be surprized with what chearfulness they bend to them, to obtain that idol, *Independency*. In many poor habitations they have parted with one of their blankets, where they had only two, to supply their soldiers, and although the interior part of these states have not been the seat of war, yet the distresses of the inhabitants are equally as great as if it had.

They have in this province, among many other military institutions, one of a singular nature, that of minute-men, so named, as they are in constant readiness at the first summons of their officers, to march at a minute's warning; they are composed of the most active and expert of the militia, and as an encouragement to hold themselves always prepared

to march, they are promised never to go out of the province, but only to oppose any enemy that appears either upon their coast or frontiers. These states can, in the course of a few days, form an army of some thousands; their conduct in assembling at the skirmish at Lexington and Concord, and annoying the King's troops in their return to Boston, fully justifies their appellation.

If the other provinces enter as heartily into the cause of rebellion, I am afraid we shall find it a very difficult task to subdue them; for, exclusive of all the various modes of furnishing men and supplies, it is in these provinces, in some measure, become a religious cause, in which the people being enthusiasts, their clergy artfully increase a warlike spirit among their flock.

One of them, in my hearing, firmly asserted, that rewards were prepared in Heaven for those who fell in the present contest, endeavoring to impress them with an idea of the real necessity of the war, as the defence of religious liberty: this was a most precious and prevailing argument to delude the ignorant; he insinuated that the Roman Catholic religion was to be introduced, artfully mentioned the Quebec-act, and after pretending that he had been visited by the Supreme Being in visions, assured them those only would be accepted in Heaven, who should seal their lives in so righteous a cause with their blood.

Similar doctrine is doubtless made use of by their clergy in general. Stratagems, under the disguised

veil of sanctity and religion, are constantly formed to encrease our mutual animosities, for men buoyed up with such assurances of Heaven, will fight to desperation. In all religious contests, we find an unexampled bravery that no dangers disconcert, and a firm constancy that no force can withstand.

In our way hither we passed through a small neat town, called Worcester, where I met accidentally with one of the *Committee-men*, who was upon the examination of a poor fellow, sent from our army to General Clinton, and who very imprudently swallowed the silver egg that contained the message to the General, in the presence of those who took him prisoner: after tormenting the poor fellow with emetics and purgatives till he discharged it, they immediately hung him up. The egg was opened, and the paper taken out, on which was written, "*Nous y voici*, here we are, nothing between us but Gates." The *Committee-men* stared at each other, observing, it contained no intelligence that could be of service; one of them, however, reflected, that *nous y voici* was French, and *that* might contain a good deal. None of them understanding a word of that language, they sent to the jail for a poor Canadian, who was a prisoner, to translate it for them: he informed them it meant *here we are*, but as that was in English, they would not credit it. At last one very sagaciously observed, that it certainly was some private mark, or correspondence between the two Generals, and as none of them had much military knowledge, it was

thought proper to send it to General Washington, who certainly would understand it better.

As we passed from this town, at a small village there were assembled a great concourse of people to see us march, who were very curious, some lifting up their hands and praying to Heaven, some admiring the soldiers, others looking with astonishment; but among the croud stood foremost an old woman, who appeared to be near an hundred, upon whom your old friend, Lieutenant M'Neil, of the 9th regiment, thought to be a little witty, in which, however, he was fairly worsted: as this old woman attracted the notice of every one, when he passed, he said to her, "*So, you old fool, you must come and "see the lions*;" but with great archness she replied, "*Lions! lions! I declare now I think you look "more like lambs!*"

The lower class of these Yankees — a propos, it may not be amiss here just to observe to you the etymology of this term: it is derived from a Cherokee word, *eankke*, which signifies coward and slave. This epithet of yankee was bestowed upon the inhabitants of New England by the Virginians, for not assisting them in a war with the Cherokees, and they have always been held in derision by it. But the name has been more prevalent since the commencement of hostilities; the soldiery at Boston used it as a term of reproach; but after the affair of Bunker's Hill, the Americans gloried in it. *Yankey-doodle*, is now their pæan, a favorite of favorites, played in their army, esteemed as warlike as the

Grenadier's March — it is the lover's spell, the nurse's lullaby. After our rapid successes, we held the Yankees in great contempt; but it was not a little mortifying to hear them play this tune, when their army marched down to our surrender.

The lower class of the New Englanders are impertinently curious and inquisitive; at a house where Lord Napier was quartered, with other officers, a number of the inhabitants flocked to see a Lord, imagining he must be something more than man: they were continually looking in at the window, and peeping at the room door; saying, I wonder which is the Lord! at last four women, intimate friends of the landlord, got into the room, when one of them with a twang, peculiar to the New Englanders said, "I hear you have got a Lord "among you, pray now which may he be?" When his Lordship, who, by the bye, was all over mire, and scarcely dry from the heavy rain that had fallen during the day's march, whispered your friend Kemmis, of the 9th regiment, whose turn for wit and jocularity you are well acquainted with, to have a little mirth with them. He accordingly got up, and pointing to his Lordship, in a voice and manner as if he was Herald at Arms, informed them, that "that was the Right Hon. Francis Lord Na- "pier, of &c. &c. &c." going through all his Lordship's titles, with a whole catalogue of additions: after he had finished, the women looked very attentively at his Lordship, and whilst he and the other officers were laughing at the adroitness of

Kemmis, the women got up, and one of them lifting up her hands and eyes to Heaven, with great astonishment, exclaimed, "Well, for my part, if that be a "Lord, I never desire to see any other Lord but the "Lord Jehovah," and instantly left the room.

We were escorted on our march by the brigade of a *General Brickett*; he was very civil, and often used to ride by the side of the officers, to converse with them. One day, as he was jogging along with our friend *Sone*, he complained to the General, that he was very uncomfortable in such wet weather and bad roads, for want of a pair of boots, and that those he had, with all his baggage, were taken in a *batteaux*; when the General said, he would sell him those he had on. Sone was rather surprised at the offer of the Brigadier General, and asked him how many paper dollars he would take; the General told him he would only part with them for gold; when *Sone* offered him a guinea for them; the General instantly got off his horse, and after he had taken a pair of shoes out of his saddle-bags, was proceeding to pull off his boots; *Sone* told him there was no such hurry, it would do when they arrived at the end of the day's march: He replied, he should not be long in pulling them off, and he had got a pair of country boots to put on, which are pieces of cloth folded round the leg, and tied at the knee and ancle. — Upon being requested to defer it till we got into quarters, he mounted his horse, rode forwards, and on our halt diligently searched out for *Sone*, when he compleated his bargain, and parted

with his boots. So much for an *American Brigadier-General!*

Notwithstanding they are displeased with our Government, they are not so with our guineas, and although they are fighting for independency, they place very little dependence upon paper-money; for however martial they are at present, still they have an eye to traffic and merchandize; what a weak state the Congress must be in, when those who are fighting for its support are depreciating its credit. I am confident that the majority of the Americans are ignorant as to the cause of the contest, and what arose from the factious views of a few designing men, expressing a displeasure to our Government, is now converted into rancor and national hatred. If I might be allowed to give my political opinion, there appears to me nothing so clear, as that the true interest of America is to live in perfect harmony with Great-Britain, for it is evident to the observation of every one, that the colonies reaped great advantages when the union subsisted; they have severely felt, and at this moment continue to feel, the bad effects of being at variance.

That they may be subdued, and an union formed upon the most permanent basis, for the interest of both countries, will, I think, coincide with your sentiments, as it does with those of

Your's, &c.

LETTER XLVII

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 30th 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE last town we left, before our arrival at this place, was Westown, where we found the most convenient inn of any on the road, it is equal to most in England, the rooms commodious, provisions good, and servants attentive; above all, the landlord is a friend to our Government, and like all of that description, has been much persecuted. He was not without his apprehensions of being sent to prison for attentions shewn to the officers who stopped at his house, which was nothing more than the common civility he shewed to all his guests: in short, he was deemed by the Americans a rank Tory.

The spirit of Whig and Tory is as predominant in America, as it was in England some years back; perhaps you may not have troubled yourself as to the *unde derivatur* of these two words, you will therefore pardon my explaining them: *Tory*, originally, was a name given to the wild Irish robbers, who favored the massacre of the Irish Protestants, in 1641; it was afterwards applied to all enormous high-fliers of the Church. *Whig* was a ludicrous name, first allotted to the country-field devotion-meeting, whose ordinary drink was whig, or whey of coagulated sour milk: it was afterwards applied

to those who were against the Court interest, in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. and for the Court, in the reigns of King William and King George; the Americans apply them quite the reverse.

Our march from Westown to this place was the most unpleasant of any, as it rained incessantly, and we reached the barracks on Prospect Hill very late in the evening, which were unfortunately in the worst condition imaginable for the reception of troops, being so much out of repair, that we suffered severely from the inclemency of the weather; the barracks were, in fact, bare of every thing; no wood, and a prodigious scarcity of fuel, insomuch, that we were obliged to cut down the rafters of our room to dry ourselves.

The method of quartering was dreadfully inconvenient, six officers in a room not twelve feet square, permission was denied us to accommodate ourselves with rooms in this town, till General Burgoyne arrived, and represented our situation to the Council at Boston, when it was reluctantly granted. We laboured under many distresses and difficulties; every species of provisions was very dear, and to add to our misfortune, could hardly be procured for money. You do not, I believe, in England, rank milk in the catalogue of luxuries, yet we were obliged, *ourselves*, to traverse a deep snow for a full mile, to get a small quantity for our breakfasts, as our servants were not permitted to pass the centinels.

It was understood at the convention, that the troops were to be stationed on Prospect and Winter Hills, and the officers were to be quartered in Boston, and the neighbouring towns. On this supposition some of the officers had pushed forward and got into Boston, but were immediately ordered out.

At present, the army is disposed of in the following manner: the English troops upon Prospect Hill, and the German upon Winter Hill; the officers have the towns of Cambridge, Mystic, and Watertown, to quarter themselves, and a parole of about ten miles in circumference; but to preserve order and regularity among the troops, three officers of each regiment constantly reside in the barracks.

It is no little mortification that I cannot visit Boston, for it is the second city in America, and the grand *emporium of rebellion*; but our parole excludes us from it: what makes the mortification still greater is, that we can go as far as the ferry at Charles-town, and are debarred crossing it.

By an officer who has joined the army from Albany, I am informed, that Lady Harriet Ackland, after she quitted our army, experienced great difficulties before she arrived at that city, the night being far advanced before the boat reached the enemy's out-posts, and the centinel would not let it pass, nor even come on shore, notwithstanding the Chaplain that accompanied her offered the flag of truce, and represented the state of her Ladyship. The guard, from apprehensions of treachery, and

punctilious to orders, threatened to fire into the boat if it stirred before day-light. What must have been her anxiety and sufferings, when protracted for seven or eight hours, without covering to shelter from the inclemency of the night air, and uncertain what her husband's situation might be, her reflexions during the long, dark, cold hours, could not impress her with any favorable sentiments of the treatment she was to expect, from this first reception. When day-light appeared they were suffered to land, and conducted to General Gates, who, with that humanity for which he is so conspicuous, received and accommodated her with that respect and attention her rank and merit deserved.

When you trace her through the various trying scenes since her arrival in America, she stands forth an example of female excellence — an example of patience, suffering and fortitude, exhibiting an interesting picture of that spirit of enterprize and distress, you meet with in romance, realized, and conducted upon that discipline of duty and chasteness of principle, which should ever be attendant on connubial love. How little the female frame can be capable of supporting, delicate to a degree as hers is, such extreme distress, yet she soared above it, and forgot the weakness of the woman in the fondness of the wife.

We have had several disputes with the Committee-men, relative to travelling on a Sunday, in time of service; some officers have been taken up and confined, which has occasioned the General's inter-

ference. We are now permitted to assemble at the barracks, and attend religious duties. The select men wished to be as rigid with us as with the inhabitants, any of whom that are seen in the streets, during divine service, are compelled to go to some place of worship. Whoever shall be caught carrying a bundle is committed to prison, for the spirit of puritanism is as prevalent now in these states, as it was on their first settlement.

The established religion here, as in all the other provinces of New-England, is that of the Congregationalists, a religion different only in some trifling articles to that of the Presbyterians; there were great numbers of other persuasions, particularly of the Church of England, and at this place there is a church erected within sight of Harvard College, the seminary of these Congregationalists; this gave them much offence, as they considered it a fatal stroke levelled at their religion. Upon this account, before hostilities commenced, they persecuted the minister, who was the Rev. Dr. Apthorpe, now Rector of Croydon, obliged him to resign his cure and quit the colony; but since the war, not only this church, but every one over the province is shut up, nor will the inhabitants suffer any other religion but the Congregationalists; they were happy to seize the opportunity of suppressing the church of England, as it was gaining ground very fast, and therefore objected to it on the ground of praying for the King and Royal Family. Some ministers offered to omit that part, but toleration is

no part of their creed, and they were happy to seize so favourable an occasion to crush it.

Before the commencement of the war, Arts and Sciences were making great progress in these states. In this town there is erected an University, the first ever raised in America; it is a neat brick building, containing three halls for the classes, a room for natural curiosities, another for instruments of astronomy and mathematics, and a gallery where formerly was a very valuable library, but when this place was the head quarters of General Washington, the library, as well as the instruments and other articles were removed, in which many were lost and more damaged; those that remain of the handsome collection are very few; adjoining to the college is a neat chapel.

The President of this University is a Mr. Willard, and there are only a small number of students at present, not exceeding twenty, the youth of America studying tactics in preference to the more enlightening sciences. This University has been founded near an hundred years, and altho' it is not on a perfect plan, has produced a number of men of genius. It was much encouraged in its infancy, by many persons at home, particularly a Mr. Hollis, who founded the professorship for the mathematics and natural philosophy, and many other benefactions, nearly to the amount of 5000l. Neither the professors or students reside in the University; the former live in their own houses, and the latter board in the town.

The town of Cambridge is about six miles from Boston, and was the country residence of the gentry of that city; there are a number of fine houses in it going to decay, belonging to the Loyalists. The town must have been extremely pleasant, but its beauty is much defaced, being now only an arsenal for military stores, and you may suppose it is no agreeable circumstance, every time we walk out, to be reminded of our situation, in beholding the artillery and ammunition waggons that were taken with our army.

The character of the inhabitants of this province is improved beyond the description that our uncle B—— gave us of them, when he quitted this country, thirty years ago, but Puritanism and a spirit of persecution are not yet totally extinguished. The gentry of both sexes are hospitable and good-natured, with an air of civility in their behaviour, but constrained by formality and preciseness; even the women, though easiness of carriage is peculiarly characteristic to their nature, appear here with much stiffness and reserve: they are formed by symmetry, handsome, and have delicate complexions; the men are tall, thin, and generally long-visaged; both sexes have universally, and even proverbially, bad teeth, which must probably be occasioned by their eating so much molasses, making use of it at all meals, and even eating it with greasy pork.

Conversing one day with a Virginia officer relative to the curiosity of the New Englanders, he

told me, that finding he never could procure any refreshment for himself or horse, till after he answered all their questions, and they had compared them with their information, he adopted the following mode to avoid their inquisitive delays: Whenever he travelled from his own province to Boston, and alighted at an ordinary, (the name given to inns in America, and some justly merit that title) the master or mistress, and other company in the house assembled at the door, and he began in this manner, — "Worthy people, I am Mr. * * *, "of Virginia, by trade a tobacco-planter, and a "bachelor, have some friends at Boston, whom I "am going to visit, my stay will be short, when I "shall return and follow my business, as a prudent "man ought to do. This is all I know of myself, and "all I can possibly inform you. I have no news; and "now, having told you every thing, have compas-"sion upon me and my horse, and give us some "refreshment."

Intelligence being brought me that some ships are seen in the offing of Boston harbour, I am hastening to Prospect-hill, to see if they are those that will be the means of conveying me to the sight of my worthy friend, and that they may be is the wish of

Yours, &c.

LETTER XLVIII

Cambridge, in New England,
Dec. 9, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

DEPRIVED of the privilege to visit Boston, still from the view that we have of it from our barracks on Prospect Hill, I am enabled to give you a description of its situation; for its interior parts, police and government, you must be referred to those authors who have described them.

Boston is situated on a peninsula of about four miles in length, at the bottom of the bay of Massachusetts, which reaches eight or ten miles within land; the opening of the bay appears to be sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves, by a number of rocks, which appear above water, and by several islands, most of which are inhabited, whose situation is such, that they will not admit of more than three or four ships to enter at the same time.

Nature herself too seems to have provided for the safety of the city, for upon this narrow channel there is an island, that, when fortified, no ship can pass it: this important post was entirely neglected till the end of the last century, when a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected on it, defended by a hundred pieces of cannon, of the largest size and extremely well placed. When our troops evacuated Boston, they demolished the fortifica-

tions, which rendered the city liable to an attack by sea, therefore the principal object of the New Englanders was to put Boston and this island in such a state of defence, as to prevent its falling again into our possession; and so indefatigable were they in this business, that every able-bodied citizen allotted two days in a week, the more speedily to conclude it, as they were not without their apprehensions, that when the fleet and army were reinforced they would return; what impressed them so strongly with this idea was the demolition of the works.

About a league from this island, near the mouth of the harbour, there is a high light house, the signals from which are perceiveable at Boston, where there are beacons, as well as upon most of the heights along the coast, to spread the alarm to the inland countries of an enemy's approach. Except when a very thick fog prevails, at which time some ships might slip in amongst the islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of an enemy; and in the space of four-and-twenty hours, they can raise several thousands of militia. If ever a fleet of ours should be able to pass Fort William, it would be effectually stopt by the strong batteries the Americans have raised, both to the north and south of the town, which command the bay entirely; the harbour appears so spacious, that it will admit of six or seven hundred vessels anchoring safely and commodiously. I am informed, on that side of the city that faces the harbour, there is a very magnificent pier which

extends so far into the sea, as to admit of ships unloading their cargoes, without the assistance of small craft, from whence they are deposited in warehouses, ranged along this pier.

Opposite to the northern part of the peninsula on which Boston stands, are the remains of Charles-town, which had the same connection with Boston as the Borough has with the city of London; the river that divides the two is not much wider than the Thames, and it appears rather singular, that the inhabitants never erected a bridge, as it would have greatly contributed to the prosperity of both, especially as it was the direct entrance from the inland towns into Boston. Unless you cross the ferry, you have to make a circuit of several miles, over swamps and morasses, from this place to Boston, which is only two miles in a direct line; no doubt, as the Americans are become so expert in making bridges across rivers of greater width than this, they will, when the contest is ended, erect one; for what was formerly either through indolence or individual concerns considered as impossibilities and arduous undertakings, will now be thought matters easily accomplished.

Near to the remains of Charles-town is that famous spot where so much blood was spilt, and so many brave men slain, *Bunker's Hill*, which will ever be a memento to British Commanders, against attacking works with such temerity, without a sufficient information as to their construction, and holding an enemy in too great contempt; but in this

instance it was in some measure unavoidable, for had the Americans secured that post, Boston would have been untenable, as it is a high ground that overlooks and commands the whole town, the only error that appears to have been committed, was at first not endeavouring to turn their flank (which proved the means of driving them from their works) instead of attacking them in the front. The only motive that could lead to the mode of attack that was adopted, must have been upon a supposition that it was impossible, in such a small space of time, to erect any works, but what might easily be demolished by the artillery, and carried by storm: Certainly our troops were much annoyed by the Americans from Charles-town; and if it had not been for the General's unwillingness to destroy it, the enemy might easily have been dislodged, in which case, the weakness of their flank would have been discovered, and so many lives would not have been lost in attacking them; their industry, diligence and silence in constructing the works, which consisted of a small redoubt and strong intrenchment, reaching near half a mile down to the river Mystic, is incredible. I cannot conceive how the importance of this post should escape the vigilance of our Generals, as the safety of Boston depended entirely on our having possession of it.

The best description that I can possibly give you as to the engagement, is what I gathered from Captain Drew, whom I met with at Cork, who, in that action, was wounded in several parts of the body;

and, notwithstanding scarcely recovered from his wounds, was going out to join his regiment. He acknowledged himself to have never been witness to such a scene of carnage and slaughter; and, in addition to the incessant roar of cannon, discharge of musquetry, and the groans of the wounded and dying, there were great explosions from the burning of the town, from which ascended a large column of black smoke; in short, it was such a scene as cannot be described, nor can any one form the least idea of it, but those who were present. What must have been the feelings of the Generals and troops in Boston, who were spectators of this dreadful carnage, without participating? The behaviour of the British troops, was truly characteristic of that valour and intrepidity that is allowed by all nations. But the reception they met with from these entrenchments, and the execution, which was terrible, was sufficient to stagger the bravest troops; — for full half an hour, the fire poured down upon them like a stream; many old veterans declared, that, for the time it lasted, it was the hottest and most bloody engagement they ever remembered.

We are anxiously expecting the vessels, as our situation is not only very unpleasant but dangerous, both to officers and soldiers; the latter of whom are in continual broils with the American guards, which are composed of militia, who not being under very great discipline, not only infringe their orders, which perhaps they do not comprehend, or else use their authority as they think proper; they have re-

ceived orders not to let any officer pass without his side arms, and as many of them left their baggage in Canada, others lost them with their baggage, during the campaign, this ignorant people will not let any one pass without a sword, drawling out, "I "swear now you shan't pass, because you have not "got a sword;" at the same time, stupid fools, they might perceive by our cloaths and bayonets that we were officers. Much altercation has ensued, to remedy which, the officers had passports signed by General Heath; but this did not avail, as very few of the centinels could read. At last it was ordered, that any officer who wanted to pass the centinels, was to go to the American guard, where the officer should send a soldier to pass him; this did not altogether remedy the evil, as many of the officers could not make out the passport.

When I describe to you the troops, you will not so much wonder at these embarrassments. In marching the party to relief, you will see an old man of sixty, and a boy of sixteen; a black and an old decrepit man, limping by his side; most of them wear great bushy wigs; in short, they would be a subject for the pencil of Hogarth; but, egad, they are ready enough in presenting their pieces, and if a soldier comes the least near them they level at him, and say, "I swear now, if you attempt to pass, I'll "blaze at you."

The soldiers' wives are allowed to pass the centinels; but the other day a most ludicrous circumstance took place, by the obstinacy of an old man

upon guard. He would not permit a woman, who was a true campaigner to go beyond him, great altercation ensued, in which the lady displayed much of the Billingsgate oratory, when the old man was so irritated as to present his firelock; the woman immediately ran up, snatched it from him, knocked him down, and striding over the prostrate hero, in the exultation of triumph, profusely besprinkled him, not with Olympian dew, but that which is esteemed as emollient to the complexion — and 'faith, something more natural — nor did she quit her post, till a file of sturdy ragamuffins marched valiantly to his relief, dispossessed the Amazon, and enabled the knight of the grisly caxon to look fierce, and reshoulder his musquet.

The Winter is now setting in, and as the coasting of the transports from New York to Boston is attended with delay and danger, on account of the strong winds that blow at this season upon the coast, General Burgoyne has made application to Congress for the troops to march to Providence, and to embark at Rhode Island. We are now anxiously waiting for an answer; that it may soon arrive is the ardent wish of

Yours, &c.

LETTER XLIX

Cambridge, in New England,
Jan. 19th, 1777

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is impossible to describe with what a dejected mind I sit down to write, as not only the flattering hopes of shortly seeing my friend is done away, and every prospect vanished, but some years, perhaps, may elapse, before the termination of this unhappy contest.

What was intended as an accommodation to the troops, relative to their embarking at Rhode Island, has proved a most unfortunate circumstance indeed; for the Congress have not only denied that request, but have put a stop to any embarkation, till the convention is ratified at home by the King and Parliament; an event that can never happen, as it would be allowing the authority of the Congress, and the independence of the Americans. What renders our situation more distressing is, that had the transports come round to Boston, the Council would have consented to our embarkation.

The General's requisition to Congress has created suspicions in their minds (and, by the bye, no people are of such a suspicious disposition as the Americans,) that the measure proposed was merely for an opportunity of joining General Howe's army, and that we should, like themselves,

be base enough to evade and break the articles of capitulation; after which we were to act in concert with that army against Washington; and, in support of their suspicions, or, at least, to give a colour to them, they pretend that the vessels sent to Rhode Island were insufficient for transporting the army to Europe, and that it was impossible to victual the fleet and army for so great a number, in so short a space of time. This idea must arise from the great dilatoriness in all American departments.

General Burgoyne having made complaints concerning the bad accommodation of the officers, which was not agreeable to the terms of convention, the Congress have construed that as a direct declaration, that it had been broken on their parts by a violation of its conditions, and an indication, that we consider the convention as dissolved; that, under these circumstances, when out of the limits of their power, and at large, we should make no hesitation in acting as if we were in no degree bound by a capitulation that we had disavowed under restraint.

The Congress have likewise passed some frivolous resolutions, that the soldiers had not faithfully delivered up their accoutrements, alluding to the cross belts and cartouch boxes. Any one the least conversant in military affairs, must know they are not public stores, but private, as being always furnished by the Colonel of the regiment. In short, the Congress were happy to seize any circumstance, as a pretext to favor their proceedings, and to ren-

der them justifiable in the eyes of the world. But had they made a reference to General Gates, they would have found what little dependence was to be placed as to that accusation; for, when he observed the men march by with their accoutrements on, he asked Colonel Kingston, who had settled the treaty — "if it was not customary, on field-days, for "arms and accoutrements to go together?" when Colonel Kingston replied, "There was nothing said "in the convention that he had agreed to with him, "relating to accoutrements; and that he could have "no right to any thing but what was stipulated in "the treaty." To which General Gates replied, "You are perfectly right;" — and, turning to some American officers, said, "If we meant to have had "them, we ought to have inserted them in the con- "vention." Hence it is evident Congress were ready to grasp at any pretence, however weak, to evade the terms of convention without incurring the charge of a direct breach of faith.

In vain was every expostulation of General Burgoyne, as to the substance of his letter, which conveyed no other meaning than complaint of improper usage, and a too relaxed adherence to the articles of capitulation. To obviate all farther difficulties, the General and Officers signed a parole, and were willing to sign any paper, the more fully to ratify the convention.

Congress were inexorable, and it was very perceivable, they would not easily recede from a measure once adopted; no explanation of securities

could produce the desired effect upon their determination. The conduct of Congress upon this extraordinary transaction, is extremely visible; they had conceived an idea if our army were suffered to return to Europe, it would be easily replaced in the spring; General Howe's army being now in possession of Philadelphia, Jersey, New York, and other commanding situations, and General Washington so closely pressed at Valley Forge, that upon the arrival of such an additional force, it would turn the scale of war against them; and that the next campaign must end in their final subjugation; they therefore chose to sacrifice their faith and reputation, although an infant state, by an act never excusable. This ever will be an obloquy upon America, and point out to other powers, what little dependence is to be placed upon her public faith.

Judge, my dear friend, what must be the feelings of every one, and how exasperated we must be at this treatment! we have no other hopes left but an exchange of prisoners, which, considering our numbers, will be some time before the whole can be effected. Our situation now becomes every day more and more mortifying, for, exclusive of the insults we continually meet with from the American soldiery, the officers, no doubt, stimulated by this resolve of Congress, behave very tauntingly, and Colonel Henley, who commands the troops, has been guilty of great cruelty to the soldiers. That you may form an idea as to the natural ferocity of

disposition in this man, and how deliberate he is in his barbarities, I shall state a few of them.

On the 19th of last month, he went up to the American barracks to release some of our soldiers; after calling over their names, he addressed himself to a corporal Reeves, of the 9th regiment, "and "told him he had been confined for insulting a pro-"vincial officer." Reeves made answer, "He was "sorry for it; that he was in liquor, and would not "have acted so, had he known him to have been "an officer, and was ready to ask his pardon." Colonel Henley said, "By God, Sir, had you served "me so, I would have run you through the body, "and I believe you to be a great rascal." Reeves made answer, "I am no rascal, but a good soldier, "and my officers know it." Colonel Henley then demanded silence. Reeves repeated nearly the same words, adding, "That he hoped soon to carry arms "under General Howe, and fight for his King and "country." The Colonel then replied, "Damn "your King and country, when you had arms, you "were willing enough to lay them down." Colonel Henley then ordered silence, Reeves repeating nearly the same words, the Colonel ordered one of the guard to run him through for a scoundrel; the men of the guard not obeying his orders, he dismounted from his horse, and seizing a firelock with a fixed bayonet from one of the guard, stabbed Corporal Reeves in the left breast, and whilst he had the bayonet at his bosom, the Colonel told him, "If he said another word, he would have it

"through his body:" Reeves then told him "He "did not care, he would stand by King and his "country, till he died." Colonel Henley then made a second dart at him with the firelock and fixed bayonet, which two of the other prisoners threw up, and it passed over Reeves's shoulder; at the same time one of the men said to Colonel Henley, "That the man was his prisoner, that he had better "not take his life, as he could do with him as with "the other men who were in his custody." Colonel Henley then returned the firelock, and ordered him back into the guard-room, dismissing the rest of the prisoners.

On the 8th instant, as some soldiers were looking at a party of Americans, where Colonel Henley was present: he ordered the soldiers to go off and clear the parade. The soldiers turned about, and went off as fast as they could; the croud being great, and the road very dirty, Colonel Henley turned about, and addressing the soldiers, said, "Damn "you, I'll make you make more haste;" and running up to a corporal Hadley, pushed his sword in his left side and bent it: he then turned about and went to the right of his party, straightening his sword as he went along — a pretty example this from a commanding officer to those under his command.

Do not be surprized after this, if you should hear of a general massacre of all the British troops! But what more fully stamps the character of this most sanguinary man, and his ferocious disposition, is a

most unaccountable expression he made to some soldiers, without any provocation.

Our passes are renewable every month, for which purpose the Quarter-master-serjeants of the different regiments attend at the American Deputy Adjutant-General's office; on the 16th of last month, as the serjeants attended at the office, to apply for passes, Serjeant Fleming, of the 47th regiment, not being acquainted with Colonel Henley, took him for Colonel Keith, the Deputy Adjutant-General, saluted him cap in hand, and was going to address him, when Colonel Henley extended his arm towards him, with his fist clenched, and said, "You rascals, I'll make damnation fly out of ye; "for I will myself, one of these nights, go the "rounds, and if I hear the least word, or noise in "your barracks, I'll pour shot amongst you, and "make flames of Hell jump out of ye, and turn "your barracks inside out; declaring, if he was a "centinel, and any British soldiers looked sulky at "him, he would blow their brains out!"

Such glaring conduct could not escape the notice of General Burgoyne, who applied to General Heath for redress, and he instituted a Court of Enquiry, to investigate the grounds of complaint, and reported, it would be for the *honor* of Col. Henley, as well as for the satisfaction of all interested, that the judgment of a Court-martial should be taken on his conduct, during his command at Cambridge, which Court-martial is to sit to-morrow.

The weather has been very severe of late, and

there has been great falls of snow, but now it is more pleasant and serene; the north winds blow very sharp, the snow is about two or three feet thick on the ground, and the inhabitants, instead of cariol-ing, like the Canadians, have large sleighs, that will contain ten or twelve persons, which are drawn by two, and sometimes four horses, but parties of young folks are more accustomed to go a frolicking. As this is a singular custom, I shall describe it to you.

When the moon is favorable, a number of young men and women, to the amount of thirty or forty, set off in sleighs, about seven o'clock in the evening, to join some other party, perhaps at the distance of eighteen or twenty miles, where they dance and carouse till day-light, when they return and follow their common avocations, as if they had rested all night; it is not uncommon, an hour or two after day-light, to be awaked with the singing and noise they make, and by the number of bells affixed to the horses, on the return of some of these parties. Singular situations and manners are productive of singular customs. In England, this would be esteemed extremely imprudent, and attended with dangerous consequences; but, after what I have related respecting *bundling*, I need not say, in how innocent a view this is looked upon. Apropos, as to that custom, along the sea coast, by a continual intercourse among Europeans; it is in some measure abolished; but they still retain one something similar, which is termed *tarrying*.

When a young man is enamoured of a woman, and wishes to marry her, he proposes the affair to her parents, (without whose consent no marriage, in this colony, can take place) if they have no objection, he is allowed to tarry with her one night, in order to make his court. At the usual time, the old couple retire to bed, leaving the young ones to settle matters as they can, who, having sat up as long as they think proper, get into bed together also, but without putting off their under garments, to prevent scandal. If the parties agree, it is all very well, the banns are published, and they married without delay; if not, they part, and possibly never see each other again, unless, which is an accident that seldom happens, the forsaken fair proves pregnant, in which case the man, unless he absconds, is obliged to marry her, on pain of excommunication.

The ignorance of the American officers and soldiers, and the scrupulous punctuality to their orders, which one half of them have not understanding to comprehend, must occasion confusion and trouble. I have hitherto endeavoured to avoid having any altercation with them; but the other evening I had the pleasure of being conducted to the guard-house, though not without company, among whom was Lord Balcarras, Major Master, of our regiment, and Major England, of the 47 regiment.

We were returning, about nine o'clock, from Prospect-hill, to our quarters in Cambridge; and about a mile from the barracks, were stopt by a patrole; who, although we shewed our passes and

our side-arms, would not let us proceed; but said, he had orders to take every British officer or soldier up after dark. His Lordship then informed him, "that he was sure no such orders had been given;" but the Corporal said, "he received those orders "from his Captain; and that we must march to "the guard-house." Accordingly we were escorted, though a very cold piercing night, back to the barracks. When we arrived at the guard, his Lordship remonstrated with the Captain, who said, "He be-"lieved he had such orders, but he was not certain; "however, as we were brought prisoners, we must "remain till next morning." His Lordship then desired him to send to Colonel Gerrish, at Cambridge, the commanding officer, which he refused. After much altercation and some persuasion, rather than pass the cold night without any covering, in their bleak guard-house, he was prevailed upon to let us proceed to our quarters, upon our signing a parole to return the next morning at eight o'clock; the next day, when we went to the guard-house, they flocked round us with the same eager curiosity to see his Lordship, as they did to see Lord Napier; we remained at the guard till it was relieved, when the Captain that came to relieve would not take charge of us, nor the other discharge us; therefore, when the old guard was gone, his Lordship asked the Captain "Whose prisoners we were?" he replied, "None of mine, and I desire you will go all of you about your business." We went accordingly. Complaint being made by General Philips to their

Commanding Officer, all the answer he received was, that he supposed it was some ignorant Captain, who had made a mistake. Thus you see we are the sport of these fools. What a footing military discipline is on in the United States!

I could not so freely have communicated my sentiments, had I not an opportunity to send this by an officer going to New-York, from which place he returns to Europe, who will deliver it to you, and at the same time inform you that he left, in good health, but very low spirits,

Yours, &c.

LETTER L

Cambridge, in New England,
Feb. 28, 1788

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OUR attention has of late been engrossed with the trial of Colonel Henley. As the whole proceedings would be tiresome, I shall only just give you the substance of General Burgoyne's opening that prosecution, his reply, and the Judge Advocate's, with the extraordinary opinion of the Court, after the enormous crimes were fully substantiated, upon oath; when ill-treatment, misconduct, and cruelty, were indisputably proved, by such respectable witnesses as Colonel Anstruther, Colonel Lind, Major Forster, Lieutenant Vallancy, Lieutenant Bibby, and other officers. But as giving you only the heads of his speeches, would take from the energy and beauty of the General's language, I shall relate it verbatim, as taken in shorthand.

At the opening of the Court, General Burgoyne took notice of a distinction between the charge, as stated in his letter, and General Heath's order. In the letter, the general tenor of Colonel Henley's language and conduct, encouraging his inferiors, and seemingly calculated to excite them to bloody purposes, was only stated as a matter of suspicious belief; reasoning upon this principle, it was more

candid to suppose one instigator of such evils, than a general, voluntary, bad disposition among the American troops; that the direct matter of charge which the General pledged himself formally and officially to support, was contained in the words "behaviour, criminal as an officer, and unbecoming a "man, of the most indecent, violent, vindictive se-"verity against unarmed men, and of intentional "murder."

General Burgoyne made this observation, as a security against any censure of inconsistency on his part, for not going at large into matters of inferior moment, as to the general tenor of language and conduct of Col. Henley, declaring he should confine his evidence to transactions of the 19th of December, and the 8th of January, except in cases where the behaviour of Colonel Henley, at other times, served to elucidate the principles and designs upon which he acted upon those particular days. After making this observation, as to the distinction in the charge, the General opened the prosecution.

"*Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Court,*

"I present myself as prosecutor before you, in "charges of a heinous nature against Colonel Hen-"ley; — and, before I proceed to adduce the evi-"dence in support of them, I think it a duty to "my station, and a part of propriety towards the "Court, to declare the principles upon which I act.

"If the reports in my hand, and which will pres-"ently be brought to test upon oath, do not de-

"ceive me, public faith has been shaken, wanton "barbarities have been committed, and a general "massacre of the troops under my care, apparently "threatened. In objects of this magnitude, where "not only the rights of a single nation, but the inter- "ests of human nature are concerned, the conduct "of the prosecution falls naturally (however dis- "agreeable the office, and unequal the talents of the "person) to him who has the supreme trust upon "the spot.

"A second inducement to appear here, is that of "private honor. I have undertaken to accuse Colo- "nel Henley, in a degree that ought to affect the "feelings of a soldier nearer than life. It is fit I "stand forth, in person, to maintain my accusa- "tion, and if it fails in point of proof, to make him "the fullest atonement in my power.

"I acknowledge a third impulsion upon my "mind, equally irresistible; — gratitude, esteem "and affection to that meritorious, respectable "part of my country, the brave and honest Brit- "ish soldier — a private man, defenceless, because "unarmed, ignorant of your laws, unqualified to "make good his cause in a court of justice, and who "has not to look for redress of injury to his own "officers. — I confess I am too selfish to resign to "any brother officer the pride and gratification of "standing in the front, for the defence of men, faith- "ful comrades of honor and misfortune, — who "have fought bravely under my orders, who have "bled in my presence, and who are now exposed to

"oppression and persecution, by the abuse of a "treaty signed by my hand.

"Thus much I thought proper to premise, lest "any man should suppose me actuated by so mean "and paltry a motive, as vindictive personal resent- "ment, against a gentleman too, of whom, before "these transactions, I could know no harm, and "towards whom, if I had any prejudice, I seriously "declare it was, from his general deportment, a "prejudice of favor — personal resentment? — No, "gentlemen, I stand upon broader and firmer "ground — the ground of natural rights, personal "protection and public honor, — and I appeal to "the great principles and land marks by which "human societies hold and are directed, and "which, whether in situations of amity or hostil- "ity, are esteemed equally sacred by the univer- "sal concurrence of civilized man.

"And this leads me to a momentary reflection "upon the order under which you sit, originating "from the report of the Court of Enquiry.

"It states — *That the Court, after mature consid- "eration, are of opinion, that from the evidence offered "on the side of General Burgoyne against Colonel "Henley, it will be most for the* honor *of* Colonel "Henley, *as well as for the satisfaction of all inter- "ested, that the judgment of a Court Martial should "be taken on his conduct, during his command at "Cambridge. The General approving the opinion of "the Court, orders, &c.*

"I confess, I expected General Heath would have

"joined issue with the prosecutor, in this instance, "and placed the Court-martial upon a more en- "larged basis than the honor of an individual, how- "ever respectable he may be, or the satisfaction "of the complainants. — But be it as it may, my "purpose is answered, a Court-martial is obtained, "the members are sworn, and they are bound to "decide.

"I know you will feel with me the difference be- "tween this and common courts; such a state of the "minutes as would suffice for your internal convic- "tion, after hearing the evidence, or as would be "merely explanatory to the person who is to con- "firm the sentence, will not be thought sufficient "here. You well know the whole of this matter "will be published, translated, considered and com- "mented upon by every nation in the world: — not "only *reality*, but *perspicuity* of justice must ap- "pear upon the face of the proceedings. You are "trustees for the honor of an infant State, and "therefore evasion, subterfuge and law-craft" (an allusion to the Judge Advocate Tudor, who is a lawyer at Boston) "were any man hardy enough to "offer such at your tribunal, would be of no avail; "nay, were it possible any member could be warped "unintentionally by personal favor, or prejudice of "civil contest (good minds are sometimes prone to "such illusions) yet here a moment's reflection upon "the reputation of his country, would retrieve his "reason, and what his prejudice would incline him "to adopt, policy would prompt him to reject.

"Upon the full confidence, therefore, of the necessary, as well as willing justice of the court, I shall proceed to call the evidence. I have neither inclination or powers to heighten the facts by a previous narrative; let them strike the view as truth shall shew them in all the simplicity of their horrors — a monstrous spectacle, from which the mind and eye will turn aside with detestation."

Here a variety of evidence fully proved the accusation of the crimes I mentioned in my last, besides various others which you will perceive commented on, when the General closed the charge.

After a full examination of the evidence in support of the prosecution, the Judge Advocate made an objection to the General making any observations on it, arguing, that if he was permitted, it must be upon the principle of indulgence, not of right; and after some little altercation between the Judge Advocate and the General, the Court acquiesced, when General Burgoyne proceeded as follows:

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court,*

"It being now admitted, that in closing the evidence I may offer such arguments as to me shall seem proper, in support of the charge, and reserving to myself a claim of replying to the defence, I shall enter upon the first part of the very painful, though by no means difficult undertaking — painful, because I cannot pursue the offender without setting that offender in points of view, at which every benignant mind must shudder —

"easy in every other respect is the task, because I "will venture to pronounce the evidence, when ar- "ranged and adjusted, will amount to such a mass "of proof as cannot be overthrown, and will author- "ize and call for the strongest terms I can use, in "my demand of public justice. And, Gentlemen, "let me be permitted to assume to myself applause "rather than blame, that the evidence has not been "laid before you in a regular series; the reason was, "that though assured by the reports made to me, "that the evidence would produce conviction upon "the whole, I was ignorant how the testimony of "the particular witnesses would apply, and point "to the progression of the charges, because I had no "previous intercourse with them. I declare upon "my solemn word and honor, that I had no con- "cern or communication, directly or indirectly, "with any non-commissioned officer or soldier who "has appeared at your bar, one only excepted, viz. "Serjeant Fleming, of the 47th regiment, who has "deposed to the salutation Colonel Henley gave "him and his comrades at the Adjutant General's of- "fice; the whole matter appeared so very improb- "able, that I not only sent for the Serjeant, to warn "him of the sacredness of an oath, and the crime of "intemperate zeal that led to bearing false witness; "but also I thought it my duty to enquire minutely "into his character. — I found the man firm and "uniform in asserting his facts; and I found his of- "ficers unanimous in supporting the credit of his "veracity.

"In every other circumstance I adhered reli-
"giously to the determination I had taken, of se-
"cluding myself from the witnesses, not only to
"guard my character, in this region of suspicion
" and aspersion, against the supposition of unfair
"practices; — I besides had a scruple of trusting
"my own mind with too hasty prepossessions in a
"cause, where, with the solemn matter of a public
"nature, is involved the fate of a gentleman, high
"in his military station, and to judge by the appar-
"ent signs of good wishes on this day, high in pop-
"ular esteem.

"Thus unprejudiced I came into Court. I scorn
"to take the slighter matters that might be com-
"prehended in the general words of the charge,
"such as personal incivility to the officers, expres-
"sions and actions of peevishness, haughtiness and
"disgust. I mean not to press, that they existed, or
"if they did, I am desirous that they should pass as
"faults of temper and deficiencies of manners, in-
"cident to man's nature, education, and habitual
"course of life; and I shall confine my comments,
"as it is my duty to do, to the testimonies of your
"minutes, and the circumstances relating to them.

"Without departing from this principle, it will
"be necessary to take a general view of the state
"of things, previous to the date of the grievances
"complained of. — We arrived at Cambridge, pas-
"sengers through your country, under the sanc-
"tion of a truce — in whatever capacity we had
"been found in a foreign, and as you intend, an in-

"dependent state, we were entitled to a personal "protection, by the general and most sacred laws "of custom and reason; but when, to the promul- "gated law of civilization, are added, the unwrit- "ten principles, — or written only upon the hearts "of generous people, — honor, respect for the "brave, the hospitable wishes that usually press to "the relief of the unfortunate, the stranger, and "the defenceless man in your power, how will our "claims multiply upon the mind! — Sanguine im- "aginations conceived yet further motives for kind- "ness; there were among us men so vain as to "believe, that notwithstanding the separation be- "tween us, the different duties we now maintained, "the prejudices of political zeal, and the animosity "of civil war — yet still the conflict over, it might "be remembered we once were brothers, and the "more especially, as it was impossible, by the "convention of Saratoga, that the generality of us "should ever oppose America in arms again.

"We were led into these delusive hopes by the "very honorable treatment shewn us by General "Gates, by that we received from you, Mr. Presi- "dent," — (who was a Brigadier General Glover) "when you conducted us upon the march, and by "that we afterwards found from the worthy mem- "ber of the Court near you," (a Colonel Lee) "who "had the immediate command in this district upon "our arrival, and to whom, most happily for us, "the command is now again devolved.

"The first symptom we discovered of any un-

"candid design, was the mode established for cor-
"recting errors and disturbances in the troops of
"convention; men were taken up, imprisoned and
"otherwise punished by the American troops, with-
"out any prior reference to their own officers. I
"very well know with how much slight and severe
"derision my sentiments have been treated on this
"subject, but I still insist, that after taking up men
"for faults, to have applied to the officers of the
"convention troops, in the first instance, for their
"punishment, would have been consonant to every
"principle of decorum and good policy, not mean-
"ing to deny, that upon any proof of partiality or
"connivance, or undue lenity, it then became a
"proper and indispensible duty of General Heath,
"to take the distribution of justice into his own
"hands.

"The contrary maxim having been estab-
"lished, let us examine, in point of time, though the
"last in the proceedings, that burst of independ-
"ency, scurrility and impiety, from Colonel Hen-
"ley to the Quarter-master Serjeants at the Ad-
"jutant-General's Office. It is not without diffi-
"culty I can frame my mouth to read the words, as
"they were delivered upon oath, by that very re-
"spectable witness, Serjeant Fleming, — *You ras-*
"*cals, & c. I'll make damnation fly out of you, and I*
"*will myself one of these nights go the rounds, and if*
"*I hear the least word or noise in your barracks, I'll*
"*pour shot amongst you, and make flames of Hell*
"*jump out of ye, and turn your barracks inside out.*

"The Court will remember, that when this evi-
"dence was given, it rather excited laughter in
"some part of the audience, than any serious con-
"demnation; this day it seems to make a very dif-
"ferent impression — the minds of all around fol-
"low me while I contend, that expressions so wild,
"so unfit, so unprecedented, from the mouth of a
"Gentleman, argue the most horrid passions boil-
"ing in the breast — the very enthusiasm of rage
"and malice. — I defy any man to divest himself
"of that idea; it will attend the mind through the
"whole course of the proceedings, and cast a shock-
"ing glare over every subsequent transaction, of
"fore-thought intention, and bloody resolution.

"It is very material to observe, that this demon-
"stration of Colonel Henley's mind was on or about
"the 16th of December, and it was no longer than
"till the 19th, before he confirmed by an overt-act,
"the principles he had professed.

"The stabbing of Corporal Reeves is proved by
"the evidence of Corporal Buchanan, Alexander
"Thomson, and Robert Steel.

"I shall quote indiscriminately from the testi-
"mony of these witnesses, because though one
"may recollect a few short passages or words more
"than another, there is not a shadow of contradic-
"tion, and I am confident, there never was an in-
"stance where truth was laid before a Court by
"united evidence, more perspicuously.

"It has been sworn, *That on the morning of the*
"*19th of December, Colonel Henley went to the bar-*

"*racks, on Prospect Hill, to release some British sol-*
"*diers, who were prisoners*; *that having paraded them,*
"*he read over their crimes, and coming to Reeves, told*
"*him he was confined for insulting a Provincial Of-*
"*ficer. Reeves made answer, he was sorry for it*; *that*
"*he was in liquor, and would not have acted so, had*
"*he known him to have been an Officer.*

"I pause here to apply to the feelings of the "Court, whether a more decent, proper and sat-"isfactory excuse could have been conceived — "what did it draw from the Colonel? — *Had it* "*been me you served so, I would have run you through* "*the body, you rascal.* Continue the comparison "between the language of the Colonel and the Cor-"poral: — *Sir, I am no rascal, but a good soldier,* "*and my officers know it*; *and I hope soon to be with* "*General Howe, and fight for my King and coun-*"*try.* What did this produce from the Colonel? "*Damn your King and Country*, and an order to the "guard to run him through the body — not a hand "nor a heart could be found for the butchery. The "Colonel, enraged at the virtuous disobedience of "his men, leaps from his horse, seizes a firelock "with a fixed bayonet, and strikes at the man's "heart. I call upon the Gentleman of a learned "profession near me, to inform the Court, when he "sums up the evidence at the close of the trial, "whether this act would not constitute malice pre-"pense in law. I mean, that admitting, for the sake "of argument, that there had been such provoca-"tion given, as would have justified a man having

"an offensive weapon to make use of it instant-
"ly, which would have been only manslaughter,
"whether the intermediate act of dismounting a
"horse, and taking a firelock from the other, im-
"plying time for recollection, would not have con-
"stituted the act of wilful murder, had the man
"died. Consider now, Gentlemen, what followed:
"the brave Corporal, in the instant expectation
"that his words would cost him his life, persevered,
"*I don't care, I will stand by my King and my*
"*Country till I die!* The action would have
"charmed a brave man; it would have been a spell
"upon his arm, and kept the stroke suspended be-
"yond the power of witchcraft — what effect had
"it upon the Colonel? To provoke a second stab,
"which was only diverted by the intervention of
"the man next him, who caught hold of the bayo-
"net and threw it up.

"Gentlemen, when I say the perseverance of the
"Corporal ought rather to have pleased than pro-
"voked, I speak not vaguely or romantically — I
"feel conscious proof of the truth, and when I con-
"sider the actions of a Washington — when I meet
"in the field a Gates, an Arnold, a General Glover,
"and see them bravely facing death, in support of
"their principles — though I would shed my last
"blood upon a different conviction, I cannot with-
"hold from the enemy the respect due to the sol-
"dier, and the immediate conflict over, he robs me
"of my anger, and seizes my good will.

"Gentlemen, in the different parts of the exam-

"ination upon this fact, many questions have been "asked by the prisoner, by the Judge Advocate, "and by the Court, respecting the appearance of "the prisoner's temper. Was he not in a mild "mood? — Did he not seem good humored? — "Mild murder — Good humored murder — are "phrases, I fancy, will not convey any clear mean- "ing, till men change their ideas of that crime! We "hear, it is true, sometimes, as a sort of proverb, "to mark the utmost malignity and treachery of "a man smiling in your face while he cuts your "throat; but, I believe, such smiles were never pro- "duced as excuses or extenuation of guilt. These "questions, therefore, as I conceive, can have no "tendency but to insinuate, that Colonel Henley's "passion was entirely raised by the immediate prov- "ocation he received. I am ready to join issue "upon this argument, and if the gentlemen will rest "his cause upon it, I will relinquish the proof es- "tablished of Reeves's decency and consistency, and "give him latitude for all the provocation he can "suppose, short of personal assault, and the ne- "cessity of self-defence, which I am sure will not be "pretended — transpose, if he pleases, the time "when Reeves is proved to have talked about King "Hancock, and bring it back to the instant where "it was attempted to be introduced as a substan- "tial matter of provocation. He shall add insolence "of gesture to abusive terms, and under all these "fictitious circumstances, I will take the judgment "of the Court, whether Colonel Henley, with full

"powers to imprison, and to punish by regular, de-
"cent, legal proceeding, has a shadow of justifica-
"tion for making himself, in his own person, party,
"judge and executioner."

Deferring the conclusion till another opportunity, and willing to embrace the very favorable one that occurs, I remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER LI

Cambridge, in New England,
March 6th, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WITHOUT any preface, I shall proceed to finish the General's address, as if no delay had intervened.

"From the 19th of December, the hands of "Colonel Henley were imbrued in blood, till the "5th of January; but it evidently appears upon "your proceedings, that the influence of his ex- "ample, and the encouragement of his precepts, "failed not to operate. As the first proof of it, I "request the attention of the Court to the testi- "mony of Colonel Lind, concerning the position "of the centry, which was such as must necessa- "rily affect every passenger upon the public road, "whenever he fired; and at the same time with a "readiness to do mischief, so marked, that he took "women for his objects, and would not give them "time to turn round, *he had orders so to do.* Let "the behaviour of the next centry, to whom "Colonel Lind applied, concerning the ungentle- "manlike behaviour of the officer, with his con- "firmation of the whole proceeding, being ACCORD- "ING TO ORDER, be combined and compared, and "it must universally strike common sense, that "these were several parts of one determined plan

"to diffuse the seeds of discord and fury, in order "afterwards to countenance a general havock.

"But, it may be said, the orders under which "the continental troops acted, were not those of "Colonel Henley, but of a superior. Will that be "pleaded? Was the position of the centries to "kill or wound three or four passengers at a shot, "the firing upon women, the refusal of redress to "Colonel Lind, with all the indecent manner and "language attending — will these circumstances be "alledged to have proceeded from superior orders? "— If so, the excuse, indeed, becomes more alarm- "ing to us. It is not my part, at this time, to drop "a consideration that would lead far on that sub- "ject, I shall only remark, how little the excuse "would benefit Colonel Henley, who would still re- "main a cruel agent of — (I will use no improper "terms) I will only say, a cruel agent of too hasty "principles.

"Colonel Henley has asked, whether complaints "were made to him of the transactions of the "22d; I believe there were not — but I dare say he "will recollect the reason — other grievances of the "most atrocious nature, abuse of officers, and as- "saults upon their lives, were preparing to be laid "before General Heath: they were in number, and "in time, to have filled up a much longer interval "than between the 19th of December and the 8th "of January, and not brought before this Court, "because I understood it to be the intention of "General Heath they should be separately enquired

"into. Enough has appeared to shew how the sys-
"tem of persecution was preserved, and I come
"now to the transaction of the 8th of January.

"Upon a general view of that black day, I am at
"a loss where first to carry your observation — the
"field was extensive, the scenes separate and succes-
"sive, but evidently guided by one uniform design.
"— In one place, a party on the march are stab-
"bing and knocking out the brains of innocent
"spectators — at another, men, under pretence
"of a prisoner's escape, are glutting the same
"bloody purposes upon men not pretended to be
"concerned — in a third, Colonel Henley, in per-
"son (the British officers at the same time being
"denied admittance, as appears by the evidence of
"Lieutenant Bibby) is running men through the
"body with his sword.

"The first of these complicated horrors, in point
"of time, was the attack first with the bayonet,
"and afterwards with the butt end of the firelock.
"I will read the evidence, without a comment"
(which was the evidence of Major Forster of the twenty-first regiment, and Lieutenant Smith of the Artillery, who deposed, that they were within thirty yards, that they neither heard or saw any provocation or insult offered, but were counting the files of the guard; that when the rear came near the British Guard-room, they observed a scuffle, and the guard passed on; upon their going over, found Trudget had been wounded, and the blood running down his face; they ordered the men to

disperse, which they did immediately; that there was a free passage for the Continental troops, and not the least dispute upon that subject). "I have "only now to remark, it is rather a prepossession in "favor of the Continental troops, to suppose that "such malicious treatment could proceed from a "general sentiment; no body of people are so bar- "barous, unless instigated, and now is the time to "call upon the learned Gentleman near me, for an- "other duty of his office, to expound to the Court "the principles of law, respecting accessaries and "accomplices, and to say whether a man, by order, "advice, example, or any other encouragement, in- "fluencing another to do a mischievous act, is not "*particeps criminis*, at an hundred miles distance, "as much as if present on the spot.

"The stabbing of Wilson follows in course of the "evidence," (he was wounded in the side by a Provincial soldier, whilst he was parrying off the bayonet that another was pushing at him) "and it ap- "pears, as little comment is necessary upon this, "as upon the former action, further than to remark, "that in this case, Colonel Henley is found to be "accessary, not upon circumstantial, presumptive "and argumentative, but upon positive proof, for it "is sworn the action was done in his sight; that he "made no attempt to prevent it, and though it be "alledged, and even admitted, that he was at too "great a distance, yet his giving no reprimand nor "check to the soldiers, upon seeing the act com- "mitted, carries as direct a conviction of approba-

"tion and encouragement, as if he had given open "applause.

"The last article to mark the thirst of blood, is "the stabbing Corporal Hadley, and following "Winks with threats of the same fate. — It would "be superfluous to expatiate upon the strength of "the proofs, the concurrence of witnesses, that "there was no provocation to this deliberation and "wantonness of barbarity. The intention is so "clear, in my opinion, against the probability of "doubt, that I should not touch a moment upon "it, were it not that a very grave application was "made to the Court, by the most respectable au- "thority in it, to consider of the nature of wounds, "as matters of the greatest importance — and "question upon question was put to the Surgeon, "in every case, to find whether they were danger- "ous or not. — Is it possible that any Gentleman "can mean to measure the degree of the crime by "the depth of the wound, and to argue that a man "may thrust a weapon into another's breast with "impunity, provided he does not touch a mortal "part! If this doctrine holds good, you ought to es- "tablish schools of anatomy for the education of "young officers; the science of dissection should be "added to the skill of the fencing-master, to train "the pupils to that nicety of touch, that can feel "to a hair's-breadth between death and life; a sort "of fiddlestick dexterity, that can run divisions "upon veins and arteries, and stop short in time "and tune to the thousandth part of a second.

"Really, Gentlemen, I am not willingly ludicrous
"upon this subject, but it is impossible to treat
"such an argument gravely. — I dismiss it to my
"learned neighbour, with one more injunction to
"shew the Court, in law, that where a man passes
"a sword with violence at another's breast, whether
"the wound is a mere puncture, or goes to the hilt,
"the intentional guilt is the same. — I have only
"one matter further to observe, upon the cross-
"questioning of the witnesses; it has perhaps been
"wished to insinuate, that at the time of these vio-
"lent proceedings, there was cause of apprehension
"the armed troops might be surrounded and over-
"come; the troops themselves will hardly thank
"their friends for that idea! — What, shall it be
"alledged that the militia of America, who, ani-
"mated by their cause, have been self taught the
"use of arms; that body, where every man is sup-
"posed himself to be an host — shall such soldiers
"be apprehensive of danger, from half their num-
"ber of unarmed, mercenary, ministerial slaves,
"for such I know they think us! — No, Gentlemen,
"I reject with you so injurious a supposition; I
"give credit to the spirit and force of your militia;
"— I do it seriously and upon experience, and it is
"upon that credit I found this proposition, that it
"being impossible the officers and soldiers should
"be induced to acts of violence, by any apprehen-
"sion of resistance, it follows, by the fairest deduc-
"tion, that either there was more prevalent malig-
"nity than ever appeared before in the human

"heart, or that the whole proceeded from direction, "order, and a systematical plan.

"Little more, I imagine, need be remarked, to "apply the evidence to the several distinct terms "I have used in the charge. That the whole tenor "of Colonel Henley's conduct was heinously crimi- "nal, as an Officer, will hardly be disputed, in a "country where the principles of liberty have been "so deeply studied. An army is not to be borne in "a free State, but upon the principle of defence "against an outward enemy, or the protection of "the laws. — The officer who makes himself the "Arbiter of the Law, is guilty of the most shameful "perversion of moral duty, and his impunity would "scarcely be thought a very comfortable presage of "the growing liberties of his country.

"I have also said, the Colonel's behaviour was "unbecoming a man. — I will not trifle with the "time or understanding of the Court, to enter into "definitions upon this term, nor will I shock the "ears of Officers, nor even of the unfortunate per- "son under trial, with so gross a term as the world "in general apply to the act of assaulting a woman, "a priest, or unarmed man, for they are all exactly "in the same predicament. The sword drawn for "such a purpose is no longer the badge and distinc- "tion of a gentleman; it is degraded with the imple- "ments of the assassin and hangman, and contracts "a stain that can never be wiped away."

I cannot help remarking to you, for I was in Court that day, at the conclusion of this last sen-

tence, the Colonel changed color, and appeared bursting with rage; but to proceed —

"Gentlemen," says the General, — "I have now "gone through the material parts of the proceed- "ings; whether the offences are resolved into vin- "dictive resentment, or more deep design, or both, "it must still appear wonderful that a general mas- "sacre did not ensue. — By the patience and the "discipline of the British soldiers, those horrors "have been avoided; but whatever the escape may "have been upon our part, it is tenfold more mate- "rial on yours. We might, *perhaps*, for the strug- "gles of the desperate are hard — but, *perhaps*, we "might have been sacrificed to the last man — we "should thus have paid a soldier's debt, which we "have often risqued; our fall would have been "revenged, and our memories attended with pity "and honor. — But for America, the transactions "would have remained a foul and indelible blot in "the first page of her New History, nor would any "series of disavowal and penitence, nor ages of rec- "titude in government, purity in manners, inflex- "ible faith, or the whole catalogue of public virtues, "have redeemed her in the opinion of mankind."

Here the Court was struck with much awe, and seemed to be impressed with a resolve to act impartially — but to return to the General's speech —

"Now, Gentlemen, consider the words of the or- "der under which you sit — reform the opinion of "the Court of Enquiry, and say, whether it is the "*honor* of Colonel Henley, or the honor of America,

"by which your minds ought to be impressed, when "they proceed to judgment in this cause. I close "with that consideration, as far as I can impress it "upon your breasts — I trust they are replete and "pregnant with justice, honor, and duty to your "profession; and above all, with that glorious whig "principle, the words of which are become almost "a general motto in this country, and the genuine "substantial practice of which I shall ever revere "in any country, *a due sense of the general rights of* "*mankind.* I trust you have all these qualities, "and in that persuasion, I cannot doubt what will "be the issue of the cause."

After the General had finished, the evidence for the prisoner was adduced, which went fully to substantiate the evidence of the witnesses for the prosecution, making only this addition, that Reeves, &c. gave great provocation. — After the evidence for the prisoner was finished, Colonel Henley read a paper, which he had signed, attested by the Judge Advocate, and declined saying any thing further in his defence.

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court,*

"I have particular reasons, and in *my own* appre- "hensions very sufficient, for declining to say a sin- "gle word, in answer to the illiberal abuse thrown "upon me, and the palpable dishonor done to my "country, by General Burgoyne, in this Court. — "It is, Mr. President, a new thing under the Sun, "and, taken in all its circumstances, totally with- "out example.

"The Judge Advocate will sum up the evidence "with ability and impartiality. Such is my con- "sciousness of having done nothing through this "whole affair, but what the honor and safety of my "country absolutely required, that I shall rest en- "tirely satisfied with your decision, being at the "same time fully persuaded, that the impartial pub- "lic, at whose bar I stand, will join with you in ac- "quitting me from all the injurious and illiberal "charges of General Burgoyne, and that they will "vindicate me for that humanity, characteristic of "an American Officer, and with which the officers "and soldiers of General Burgoyne's army have "been treated, while I was honored with the com- "mand of the Guards."

To this poor defence, which the Colonel and the Judge Advocate were several days in framing, with a review of the evidence in defence of the prisoner, the General made an immediate reply, which I must defer to my next, till when, I remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER LII

Cambridge, in New England,
March 12th, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NO doubt, long before you receive this, you will be anxious for the General's reply to the invective defence of the Colonel. — I therefore take up my pen, and only wish this had not to cross the Atlantic to ease your anxiety.

"*Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Court,*

"On the day of your last adjournment, the Judge "Advocate notified to me, that the Court had "agreed I should reply to Colonel Henley's defence, "but had directed that the reply should be made "immediately after the Colonel closed: He added, "that all interested are to attend and come pre-"pared.

"I did not judge, from the manner in which the "Court have treated me hitherto, that in any in-"stance they meant me uncandidly. I therefore "suppose, that when they made it a point I should "come prepared to answer, off hand, arguments "which might have been a month in framing, they "saw the evidence before them in so strong a view, "that no argument, on my part, could be necessary "— Did I want further confidence in this opinion, "I could not fail of deriving it in a most ample de-"gree, from the conduct of the prisoner, who has

"been just now constrained, by his situation, to "substitute invective for argument, and to recrimi- "nate, where it was impossible to defend. Under "the sanction of the Court, and the circumstances "of the time, this *candid* Gentleman has ventured "to make use of terms to which my ears have not "been accustomed; but he is mistaken if he thinks "to draw from me an intemperate reply; on the "contrary, as conductor of this prosecution, I have "rather to thank him for his assistance. After "having furnished me, during the whole course of "what is called his defence, with evidence to cor- "roborate the facts alledged against him, he at last "steps forth a volunteer witness (the most undeni- "able one sure that ever came before a Court) to "prove the heat of his own temper, which is of "itself a material part of his accusation. This re- "mark is the only return I shall at present address "to the prisoner, for the expressions he has used; "but I cannot quit the subject, without seriously "appealing to the recollection of the Court, "whether, from the outset, I did not, in the most "positive terms, disavow all personal resentment, "and whether the strongest language which the "course of my duty, as prosecutor, led me to use, "did not invariably arise from the facts, and apply "to the offence more than to the offender. I make "the same appeal against the accusation of *hav- "ing done palpable dishonor to the country in this "Court.* Is it to do palpable dishonor to a country "to appeal to the justice of it? — It puzzles my in-

"tellects to conceive the meaning of this last ex-
"pression; but indeed, Sir, I want no other vindica-
"tion than your silence, to prove that I have not
"abused the latitude I possessed in either case; for
"would you, Mr. President, or any member of the
"Court, have suffered a prosecutor to insult an
"unhappy man, under trial, with illiberal abuse?
"Still less would you have suffered the country to
"be treated opprobriously. It is for Colonel Henley
"to reconcile with his respect to the Court, charges,
"which if founded, would be a general reflection
"upon their conduct.

"I understand great expectation has been raised
"of a very elaborate defence on the part of Colonel
"Henley, and acknowledge I myself little thought
"he would throw up his cause quite so confessedly,
"though I was always sure, that neither ingenuity
"nor sophistry, nor all the talents which the ablest
"counsel could assist him with, would be sufficient
"to effect the great leading proposition upon which
"I ground myself, as upon an immoveable rock,
"viz. that the proofs on the part of the prosecution
"do not only remain unimpeached, but are aug-
"mented and enforced in the most material parts,
"by the evidence produced in the defence.

"Gentlemen, a very few observations will suffice
"to justify this assertion.

"The first part of the charge which the prisoner
"brings evidence to oppose, is that concerning Cor-
"poral Reeves, on the 19th of December, and the
"first evidence is Major Sweasey, an officer of rank

"and trust in your army, warm in the present un-
"happy contest, and naturally impressed with in-
"clinations to favor his countryman, his brother
"officer and friend. Yet, with all these circum-
"stances to bias (such is the force of truth and
"honor upon that gentleman's mind) he proves to
"be the strongest witness of the whole trial, on the
"side of the prosecution.

"The beginning of this Gentleman's relation is a
"confirmation of all the leading circumstances
"mentioned by the other witnesses. The first new
"matter of evidence is, that when he, the Major,
"told Reeves he was a rascal, the Corporal made
"a reply to him (not to Colonel Henley) he was no
"more a rascal than he was, at which he raised his
"whip, and told him, if he did not hold his imper-
"tinence, he would strike him. — One circumstance
"of this part of the evidence cannot pass ob-
"servation, viz. that the poor Corporal had two
"aggressors to answer instead of one. — The word,
"and the menaces attending that word *Rascal*,
"came to his ears on both sides. Another circum-
"stance is equally observeable, and it stands upon
"your proceedings, as a record of honor to Major
"Sweasey, that his warmth of temper was moved
"at the recital of Reeves's offence, to give a sharp
"rebuke, and to use an opprobrious expression, but
"the idea of chastisement went no further than a
"stroke with a riding-whip — Happy had it been
"for the prisoner had he followed so temperate an
"example.

"The Major's narrative proceeds in respect to "Colonel Henley's dismounting, catching the fire- "lock and stabbing Reeves, in conformity to all the "witnesses for the prosecution, except that the cir- "cumstance of ordering one of the guard to run the "Corporal through is omitted, and his recollection "being called to that circumstance, by a question "in the cross-examination, he replies, *He did not* "*hear him* (but with a candor and tenderness to "his oath, which never departs from him) he adds, "*He* MIGHT *have given such an order and I not hear it.*

"The foregoing evidence, therefore, is not shaken "by any contradiction, but it is immediately after "augmented by an entire new circumstance, viz. "that after the first thrust, upon Reeves's still talk- "ing to Colonel Henley, he stepped back, and made "a motion to cock the firelock, and added, he would "blow his brains out, or words to that effect, when "a British soldier took hold of the firelock and "threw it up. I request the Court to take notice, "that Major Sweasey, uncalled upon by any lead- "ing question, remembers that act which saved "Reeves from a second thrust, accompanied per- "haps with fire. Can any doubt be now entertained "of Colonel Henley's resolution? I think I have "proof they were obvious to Major Sweasey, at the "time, by the very remarkable part of the evidence, "*I then got off my horse* (a conduct worthy his char- "acter, expressive of his apprehensions and his "humanity) *and begged Colonel Henley to send* "*Reeves to the Guard-house.* — The other petitioners

"joined their intercession, and the man's life at "last was saved.

"It may perhaps be objected to this argument, "that Major Sweasey, upon being asked, in the "cross-examination, whether he thought Colonel "Henley made a thrust with an intent to injure or "to silence the Corporal; answers, to silence him; "for if he had pushed his arm forward, he would "have run him through.

"And in another place he makes use of the "words, *to still him.*

"I scorn to insinuate, that a witness of the Ma- "jor's description meant to keep a salvo upon his "mind, and purposely to use any term of ambigu- "ity. I upon my honor believe, that when the Ma- "jor makes use of the words to silence or to still, he "means to terrify him till he held his tongue; but I "beg leave to observe, that great difference might "be made in the Major's opinion, between the "time the act was committed, and the time his sen- "timents are asked in Court. — The conversation "with Colonel Henley, the belief of his other "friends, and the candor of his own heart now per- "suaded him, that the Colonel's intents were inno- "cent. His own interference and intercession mark "his doubts, at least at the time, and did they not, "the Court will hold themselves bound to act upon "their own opinion, formed upon combination and "comparison of circumstances, and not upon the "opinion of another, which is no evidence. They "will also recollect, that this opinion goes only to

"the first stab, and is formed upon its not being "forcible. It does not appear that the Major "formed any opinion, nor indeed could he, upon "what force would have been the second stab of a "man rising in a passion, had it not been prevented "by seizing the bayonet and his intercession.

"It is not necessary to trouble the Court with a "review of any other parts of this upright evidence, "which is long. The answers to the cross questions "in general go to a full confirmation of the narra- "tive, with this one addition and aggravation of "Colonel Henley's conduct, that the Major thinks "the language of Reeves was addressed more to "himself than the Colonel, till after the stab.

"Captain Wild, of the Militia, is the next witness, "and confirms the excuse of Reeves, and every "other circumstance in the beginning of the affair, "as stated by the former witnesses, and by Major "Sweasey, except the small difference that Colonel "Henley, not Major Sweasey, first made use of the "word Rascal. He mentions afterwards another "new circumstance, that the prior witness had for- "got, viz. *Reeves turning to Buchanan, and damn- "ing him, saying, why don't you stand up for your "King and Country. — Buchanan desired him to be "still. Reeves replied, God damn them all, I'll stand "up for my King and Country while I have life*; "*if I had arms and ammunition I would soon be "with General Howe and be revenged.* — He after- "wards relates, in a very circumstantial manner, "making the push at Reeves; *Reeves stepped back*

"*one foot, but the bayonet pricked him*, and the "lifting up the piece a second time, and Buchanan "seizing it and turning it aside.

"Upon the cross questioning, the witness gives "nearly the same answers as Major Sweasey, upon "the matter of opinion of Colonel Henley's inten- "tion, and of not hearing Colonel Henley order a "man of the guard to run Reeves through, before "he dismounted, but repeating the first, the man- "ner in which this Gentleman expresses himself is "remarkable: *I believe you only meant to silence "him, as you spoke mildly, till Reeves said, God damn "them all.* That Captain Wild thought the Colonel "was in a passion afterwards, is clear from his an- "swer to the question, *whether it is a rule in the "Continental service, to silence men by the bayonet or "sword*; when he replied, *it is not, but when a man's "temper is raised, he is apt to do things he would not "at other times.*

"I cannot quit this evidence, without classing it "with Major Sweasey's, and while it does honor to "the witness, in point of truth and candour, it is to "be remarked, that it is also exceedingly circum- "stantial, new and leading circumstances are re- "membered, none forgot, except the order to the "guard, and the Court will see by and by, why I so "solicit their attention to these remarks.

"The witnesses that follow are indeed of a very "different sort; the Court will recollect the appear- "ance of the first, Corporal Dean, he told his story "very fluently, with that remarkable new inci-

"dent of provocation in Corporal Reeves, who, he "swears positively, said to Colonel Henley, — *If* "*I am a rascal, you are a damned rascal*; but after "all this fluency and recollection, upon his cross "questioning, neither encouragement, nor admo- "nition, nor patience, nor leading question, could "draw an answer that any man could understand; "and particularly the Court will remember his si- "lence and his countenance, when pressed to de- "clare his sentiments upon the obligation of an "oath; I will not be so uncandid as positively to "pronounce upon guilt from appearance, but it is "the great value of parole evidence, that a Court "may see the manner, and thence form a judgment "upon the credibility of a witness. — From what "probable cause did the confusion of this man "arise? — It was not the awe of the Court; and it "is fair to suppose it is a weakness of understand- "ing; consequently he was a fit subject to be tu- "tored, and if not wilfully perjured, led into a be- "lief of more than he actually saw and heard.

"He is followed by a string of the best instructed "young men that ever related a story in public — "Elijah Horton, Silas Moss, James Brazer, Weds- "worth Horton, and John Beny, most of them lads "of sixteen years of age.

"I need not recall to the Court the precision of "the recital of these youths, nor the manner of "their delivery. — It was the exact tone and repeti- "tion of a fable at school, and so well was the lesson "got by heart, that there was not a single differ-

"ence in the arrangement, and scarce a syllable "misplaced. But it is not only in the similitude of "memory these youths are extraordinary, they are "equally remarkable in the precision of their for- "getfulness, with a recollection so acute, as to re- "peat verbatim a long story of Corporal Reeves, "and the marked expression of *damned rascal* to "Colonel Henley; not one syllable was heard by "any British witness, nor by those attentive, cir- "cumstantial, respectable witnesses Major Sweasey "and Captain Wild; not one of the whole five can "remember a word or circumstance respecting the "Colonel's *damning Reeves's king and country, at- "tempting a second pass, and being prevented by Bu- "chanan's seizing the firelock*; to all of which all the "other witnesses have positively sworn. — Upon "the whole, I contend, that no contradiction of wit- "nesses could invalidate their testimony more than "such an exact conformity in circumstances, sen- "tences and words, when it was for the purpose of "five persons to recollect the same story, and an "equal conformity in the want of recollection in cir- "cumstances, that must indispensibly have been as "manifest to their observation, as to that of any "other witness.

"I owe an apology to the Court for having dwelt "upon the invalidation of these witnesses longer "than was necessary; for the weakness of their in- "structor, whoever he has been, has counteracted "his wickedness, and it would do no harm to this "prosecution, to give a full scope to their testi-

"mony, because there is no maxim in law more "clearly laid down, and more generally understood, "than that *no affront by words or gestures only is "a sufficient provocation, so as to excuse or extenuate "such acts of violence as manifestly endanger the life "of another.*

"The next matter to which the witnesses in de- "fence have gone, is the stabbing of Trudgett on "the 8th of January, and there likewise their testi- "mony has served to aggravate, instead of contra- "dicting the charge. Serjeant Kettle, in particular, "expressly says, he thought the soldiers *deserved "stabbing*, as they would not get out of the way; "and in another place, that laughing and sneering "*as it were* (which he acknowledges was the only "provocation) was sufficient to justify stabbing.

"I shall give the Court no trouble upon the evi- "dence brought to prove the *provocation* of a res- "cue; the escape of Buchanan was not heard with- "out a smile in Court, nor can it be seriously com- "mented on, except in the answer of Esell Pierce, "a lad of sixteen, to the Judge Advocate, who asked "him whether he thought he run the British soldier "into the body; *I believe I did* (says he trium- "phantly) *I pushed as hard as I could, and with a "good will — he cried out God damn you.* This is "but one of several instances that might be selected "from these proceedings, to shew the degree of ran- "cor to which the minds of the American soldiers "were excited. Children that had scarcely lost the "taste of their mother's milk, acquired a thirst for

"blood — among those from whom they took the "example; the Colonel thinks a man deserves death "if he looks sulky; the Serjeant thinks the same "if he smiles. Good God! What is the value of a "British life, at such a time, in such hands.

"In a former part of these proceedings, I ex- "pressed my desire that the Judge-Advocate would "explain to the Court the established principles of "law, respecting absent persons being accessaries "to offences which they have in any manner influ- "enced, and almost every sentence that has fallen "from the last witness upon the affair of Trudgett, "is a new call to press the consideration of those "principles. I am persuaded the learned gentleman "will not contradict me, in the few more leading "propositions I shall add to those I mentioned on a "former occasion, First, *Any man advising, influ- "encing, or countenancing another, be it by words, re- "ward or example, to do mischief, is an accessary at a "distance.* Secondly, *Though mischief is committed "by different means than those proposed between "instigator and perpetrator*; *for instance* — A. *per- "suades* B. *to poison* C. *he kills him by any other "means*; A. *is accessary.* Thirdly, *When the princi- "pal goes beyond the term of solicitation, if in the "event the mischief committed was a probable conse- "quence of what was ordered or advised, the person "giving such orders or advice will be accessary.*

"Apply the above maxims: — Colonel Henley "directs his men only to knock down any British "soldier, who they think looks sulky at them (you

"have seen that he often thought a much greater "punishment was due for such a crime as a sulky "look) but we will suppose, he only orders them to "knock a man down, or *to prick him* or *still him*, "and a soldier fires down a common road, sticks his "bayonet into one, and strikes at the brains of an- "other with the butt of his firelock, Colonel Henley "is a party to the mischief, whatever it may be, and "upon a continuation of the principle laid down be- "fore, — *The advice, orders or influence, are flagi- "tious on the part of* A. — *the events falling out be- "yond his original intention, are in the ordinary "course of things the probable consequence of what "*B. *does under the influence, and at the instigation of "*A. — *and therefore, in the justice of the law, he is "answerable for them.*

"So much, Sir, for the enormities committed un- "der the orders, influence, encouragement and ex- "ample of Colonel Henley, when he was not pres- "ent; as for the rest, it is needless for me to follow "the witnesses brought by the Colonel through all "the parts, wherein they severally and distinctly "confirm the former evidence, upon the charges "respecting the attempt upon Wilson in the Colo- "nel's sight, and of the stabbing Hadley with his "own hands. — I shall only remark one very strik- "ing circumstance, a little previous to the latter "fact, which came out upon the second examina- "tion of that very honorable and sensible gentle- "man, Major Sweasey. — After Buchanan had run "away, Colonel Henley (having first ordered some

"men to load, and put himself at the head of "the whole detachment) asked Major Sweasey "what method he thought they should take to re- "cover Buchanan: the Major said *the best way* "*would be to acquaint the British Commanding Offi-* "*cer on the Hill, and he made no doubt but he* "*would give him up immediately*. The Major went "with a message from Colonel Henley to Major "Foster, the British officer then commanding, who "ordered the man to be sought for and confined. — "I state this circumstance to shew, not only what "was the proper and ready method of avoiding dif- "ferences and ill blood in fact, but also to shew that "this method was proper in the judgment of your "own temperate officers. — The Major proceeds "to say, that Colonel Henley appeared perfectly "satisfied with the answer he brought from Major "Foster, but it is well worthy remark, that the vio- "lent act of stabbing Hadley, was committed in "the interim of Major Sweasey's leaving Colonel "Henley and his return.

"The whole stress of the evidence upon the de- "fence I have not remarked upon, goes to one "single point, viz. to prove provocation. I have "admitted that a centry was knocked down, as I "readily admit every slighter provocation alledged, "and shall not give a moment's trouble to the "Court, in addition to what I argued and quoted in "a former part of the proceedings upon this subject, "from undeniable authority of law — I assume it to "be undeniable, because I understand, gentlemen,

"that the criminal and common law of England, as "well as great part of the Statute Law, are, not- "withstanding your present separation, in force and "practice in your Government, and that your arti- "cles of war are almost transcripts from ours.

"The maxims then, to which I have alluded will "hold equally good in martial and other judica- "tures.

"I have only, Sir, to revert to the leading propo- "sition, and affirm that the charges are proved in "the fullest manner, even by the prisoner's wit- "nesses. It is not for me to suggest an opinion upon "the nature of punishment. I scorn the idea of "feeling joy from the most rigorous sentence; and "the most perfect acquittal would not harm me "further, than that such an example might con- "tinue the insecurity of the troops. Inflexible and "impartial justice, and rigid discipline, are the vital "principles upon which a Republic rises to matu- "rity, and establishes itself in respect and fame — "Should the Court, upon due reflection, find these "principles reconcileable with lenity in the present "case, and the great tribunal of the world be of a "contrary judgment, this cause cannot be said to "have miscarried.

"As to the displeasure which this prosecution "may bring upon me, I fear, in the present temper "of this part of the country, it is not to be avoided. "I stand in this circle, at best an unpopular, with "the sanguine enemies of Britain, perhaps an ob- "noxious character. This situation, though dis-

"agreeable, does not make me miserable. I wrap "myself in the integrity of my intentions, and can "look round me with a smile. Implacable hatred is "a scarce weed in every soil, and soon is overcome "and lost, under the fairer and more abundant "growth of cultivated humanity. — To the mul- "titude who only regard me with the transient an- "ger that political opinions and the occurrences of "the time occasion, I retain not a thought of resent- "ment, because I know the disposition and hour "will come, when *steadiness of principle*, that favor- "ite characteristic in America, will recommend me "amongst my worst enemies: As Christians I trust "they will forgive me; in spite of prejudice I know "they will respect me.

"But from the present resentful sentiments of "this audience, should I carry my apprehension "further, and suppose it possible that misapprehen- "sion or misrepresentation of my conduct, should "operate upon the supreme rulers of this country "to treat me with severity, I hope I should still find "myself prepared. — Let suspension be added to "suspension, and health and fortune, and fame, "and life, become successive forfeits in this linger- "ing war — I shall lay at last down my devoted "head with this consolitary reflection, that I have "done what I ought — that I have performed to "the best of my power my duty to my country, to "the British troops under my charge, and to my- "self — and above all, it will be consolation to re- "flect, that however misinterpreted or abused, I

"have acted in all instances, and specifically in this "trial, without a spark of private malice towards "any individual soever. With this declaration I "opened, with the same I conclude, and have only "to assure the Court of my acknowledgements for "the patience, the attention, and the civility with "which they have heard me."

Common justice — the laws of Nature and of arms, were never more forcibly depicted, than in this flight of ingenuity and of eloquence, in which nothing appeared more conspicuous than truth, nor blazed higher than humanity — determined prejudice and enthusiastic rage alone could withstand it — you might read conviction itself in every face, ashamed to be convicted — and see, what will perhaps never be seen again, the blush of consciousness on the cheek of an American — for black as their hearts are, their countenance seldom betrays them. — These are my sentiments, abstracted from party or interest, God send I may have reason to change them.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LIII

Cambridge, in New England,
March 20, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BY this time you are become highly interested for the issue of this trial, and therefore I sit down to give you the Judge Advocate's reply, and the sentence of the Court. After the General had finished his speech, Mr. Tudor, the Judge Advocate, a little vain conceited fellow, in a pert flippant manner, addressed the Court as follows:

"*Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Court,*

"It has at last become my duty to sum up these "proceedings, which by accidents and other una- "voidable causes, have been drawn on to this pe- "riod; they have excited much talk and public dis- "quisition, but have acquired greater force from "the abilities of the prosecutor, than from their "real merits.

"Pains have been taken, and every alluring art "has been used to persuade the Court to consider "what may be the popular opinion in other coun- "tries; but, gentlemen, though it was necessary for "the *public honor*, that Colonel Henley should be "removed from his command, that first a Court "of Enquiry, and then a Court-martial should be "held, you will now regard the merits as they affect "the Officer under trial, and the service of the

"States alone. — The Court sits upon truth and "honor, the strongest ties upon soldiers; you will "decide upon those motives, and upon justice, and "your proceedings will ever remain a testimony "against any men who would dare to accuse you of "partiality.

"It is now my duty to state the facts as they rise "from the evidence, stripped of all that meretri- "cious colouring which uncommon ingenuity and "refined eloquence have thrown upon it. It is not "my intention to catch the crowd by well turned "periods; I am sensible of my deficiency. — I am "an American, warmly attached to my country, "known to be a friend to the prisoner — yet, not- "withstanding those reasons may with the jealous "subject me to censure, I shall endeavour to pre- "serve as impartial a line as possible — I am deter- "mined in this cause to be of no party.

"Insinuations of a general massacre have been "dressed out in all the pomp which attic language "could give, and wanted only truth to have made "it felt as far as the public were concerned. It is "unnecessary to say more upon that subject; I "have endeavoured to reduce the other charges into "method, and propose to separate them into five "facts, in all of which Colonel Henley is considered "as a principal or an accessary.

"The first is as a principal, with respect to stab- "bing, wounding, or pricking (for it has been called "by each of these terms) Corporal Reeves, of the "ninth regiment.

"The next is to prove a Provincial Serjeant hav-
"ing stabbed Thomas Trudgett, of the twenty-
"fourth regiment; Colonel Henley in this appears
"only an accessary.

"The third is the stabbing of Wilson, in which
"likewise he is considered as an accessary.

"The fourth fact alludes to the stabbing Corporal
"Hadley, in which Colonel Henley is a principal.

"The last contains a general principle, not only
"of all the American officers being bloodily inclined
"towards the British troops, but that Colonel
"Henley fostered and encouraged principles of this
"bloody nature.

"The evidence, gentlemen, must be read, and I
"shall first read that of the prosecution, and then
"that in support of the defence, fact by fact.

"The first fact is with respect to Colonel Hen-
"ley's stabbing Reeves (*here he read the evidence on
"both sides.*) — It may be necessary to mention a
"few circumstances.

"It appears from the evidence of Major Sweasey,
"that Colonel Henley went to the barracks with
"the temper of a man going to gratify benevolent
"feelings.

"The prisoners were ordered out and paraded,
"and the Colonel addressed them mildly.

"The Court sits to judge of the credibility of the
"witnesses; there may be characters of so suspi-
"cious a nature that though they cannot be abso-
"lutely accused of perjury, yet circumstances ap-
"pear strong against them.

"The Court will be pleased to recollect, that Bu-
"chanan was afterwards the means of getting Had-
"ley stabbed, and the Court will give what regard
"they chuse to the credibility of his testimony:
"Upon the whole, it appears, that Reeves behaved
"with great insolence. It may be collected, that
"his looks and manners were more provoking than
"his words, which may frequently be the case, yet
"with all this provocation, there is no reason to
"suppose the Colonel even intended more than to
"frighten him to silence; the very act shews it, the
"bayonet was placed against his breast, not thrust
"with violence; this appears from the testimony of
"many witnesses, and the arguments to invalidate
"some of them are very uncommon, viz. that they
"have exactly agreed. I beg the Court to recollect
"with what an air of sincerity, as well as acuteness,
"one of the youths, in particular, gave his evidence:
"His ingenious manner must have made an impres-
"sion.

"The General has called upon me to explain,
"whether Colonel Henley's dismounting and tak-
"ing a firelock was not malice *prepense* in law? I
"think not, for the act that followed it seemed not
"the effect of any malicious intention.

"The next fact is the stabbing Trudgett." (*Here he read the evidence on both sides.*)

"A great deal of stress has been laid upon the
"doctrine of accomplice, and the General has ar-
"gued with a knowledge and ingenuity that would
"do credit to the ablest of my profession; but the

"doctrine does not apply, because there is no proof "nor reason to suppose that the Colonel had given "such orders, or used such influence as to excite "men to acts of violence. His written orders indeed "prove the direct contrary; and if a superior in "command is responsible for every action commit- "ted by his inferiors, as well might we make the "General a party in the murder of Miss Macrea" (the catastrophe of this young Lady I mentioned in a letter to you during the campaign) "because "the Indians who committed that murder, were "under the General's orders; an act of which I be- "lieve he stands acquitted in the opinion of every "person."

I think you will coincide in opinion, that the Judge Advocate plainly evinced his profession, as I think the comparison can in no degree hold good: one was in time of hostilities, where two parties are opposing each other; the other at a time when a set of men, unarmed, prisoners, are in a peaceable country, and amenable to the laws of the State for any crime they committed, therefore could only be meant as an obloquy against the General.

"The next fact, which is that of stabbing Wilson, "you will find depends much upon the rescue of "Buchanan. The Court will judge whether this "was a rescue or not; if it was one, I will maintain "that Colonel Henley, exclusive of his military "command, considered only as a private magis- "trate, in peaceable times, was justified by law and "custom in putting to death any person who at-

"tempted to force a prisoner out of custody; and "this leads to the consideration of the principal, and "I must confess the most unaccountable transac- "tion, the stabbing of Hadley. (*Evidence on both sides read.*)

"It must be acknowledged, that Colonel Hen- "ley acted in this affair with a degree of warmth "which his best friends cannot defend, and it must "rest with the Court to combine the various cir- "cumstances of his situation, and to consider the "nature and extent of the provocations he received. "If they can suppose a man capable of deliberately "and wantonly running an innocent man through "the body, they will be bound by their oaths and "their honor to inflict a proper punishment; on the "other hand, if they think such repeated provoca- "tion, such insolence and insult, as were offered "daily and hourly to the troops under his com- "mand, and particularly before his eyes, in the res- "cue of Buchanan, they will make due allowances "for a high spirited officer, animated in his duty "and by resentment for affronts offered to his "country. As for the supposition that Colonel "Henley fostered and encouraged principles of a "bloody nature by his general conduct, it needs no "other confutation than the want of any proof "on the other side, and his general character. My "friend is known to be of a warm temper; it must "be allowed, warmth has carried him too far; but a "more generous, honorable or humane man, does not "live in the American, or any other army. The be-

"haviour of the British troops in general, who, not-
"withstanding their situation treated ours upon
"every occasion with pride, contempt and outrage,
"is notorious, and the instances were many which
"called upon an officer for instant and exemplary
"chastisement. How little it was to be obtained
"by application to the British officers, appears by
"what passed with Colonel Lind, and by other
"parts of these proceedings."

Least you might be led to imagine that the British officers were culpable, I shall quote part of Colonel Lind's evidence, to point out wherein the Judge Advocate had misapplied the evidence. After proving the centry fired upon a woman, and with great difficulty got access to the American officer that commanded, says Colonel Lind, "I re-
"lated to him what had passed between the woman
"and the centry, begging he would order him to be
"confined, that the affair might be enquired into, *he*
"*told me he could not* (these are the words the Judge
"Advocate has applied *vice versa*) and that the cen-
"tries had particular orders to fire upon all women,
"as well as soldiers, who attempted to pass them. I
"then observed that it was a very extraordinary or-
"der, that I was sure General Heath could never in-
"tend that women should be fired upon, and that it
"must have been a mistake; he replied, that it was
"not his particular affair, that the centry had his
"orders, and I might seek redress elsewhere; we then
"parted." — This is the whole evidence of Colonel Lind, therefore I leave you to judge how it can

have the least affinity to what the Judge Advocate has insinuated, that no redress was to be had from the British officers: but to the conclusion of his speech.

"I will trouble the Court no longer — it may "perhaps appear that I have pleaded for Colonel "Henley more than I proposed when I began: He "is, I confess, my friend; the man I esteem for the "goodness of his heart, for his spirit as an officer, "and the attachment to the cause of his country; "and if I have erred in making myself more his "counsel than counsel for the prosecution, I have "done so, because I thought a cause supported on "one side by so able an advocate as General Bur- "goyne, required every possible fair assistance on "the other."

Throughout the whole of the Judge Advocate's summing up the evidence, he has not taken the least notice of the Colonel's speech to Serjeant Fleming, which, in my opinion, points out his character very strongly; nor has he confuted the witnesses produced in support of the prosecution, but wishes to impress the Court that Colonel Henley is a good man, and to take his word for it, as he is his particular friend.

This trial, which commenced the 20th of January, and by adjournments, was protracted till the 10th of February, you must naturally imagine, raised our anxiety, as no doubt it does yours, for the sentence of the Court, when it was given to General Heath — but it was not given out 'till the 27th

of February, thus you have it verbatim from our general orders.

Head Quarters, Boston, Feb. 27, 1778

EXTRACT FROM GENERAL ORDERS.

"Colonel David Henley, late Commanding Of-
"ficer of the post at Cambridge, tried at the Special
"General Court Martial, whereof Brigadier General
"Glover was President, accused by Lieutenant
"General Burgoyne, of a general tenor of language
"and conduct heinously criminal as an officer, and
"unbecoming as a man, of the most indecent, vio-
"lent, vindictive severity against unarmed men,
"and of an intentional murder.

"The Court, after mature consideration, are of
"opinion, that the charge against Colonel Henley is
"not supported, and that he be discharged from
"his arrest.

"The General approves the opinion of the Court,
"thanks them for their unwearied endeavors to
"investigate the truth, and orders Colonel Henley
"to reassume his command at Cambridge immedi-
"ately.

"The General thinks it to be his duty, on this
"occasion, to observe, that although the conduct
"of Lieutenant General Burgoyne (as prosecutor
"against Colonel Henley) in the course of the fore-
"going trial, in his several speeches and pleas may
"be warranted by some like precedents in British
"Court-martials, yet as it is altogether novel in the
"proceedings of any general Court-martial in the

"army of the United States of America, whose "rules and articles of war direct, that the Judge "Advocate General shall prosecute, in the name of "the United States, and as different practice tends "to render Courts-martial both tedious and expen- "sive, he does protest against this instance being "drawn into precedent in future.

"Signed J. KEITH, D. A. G."

In consequence of this acquittal, Colonel Henley reassumed his command the next day, but merely for form sake, as the next week Colonel Lee took the command, which he had when we first arrived. Affairs are much better regulated, every thing is now in perfect tranquillity, and a good understanding has taken place between our troops and the Americans. — Colonel Lee has remedied one great evil, in which I cannot help thinking Colonel Henley was interested, which was compelling our soldiers to purchase all their provisions at two stores in the barracks, and not permitting them to send to Cambridge, where they were much cheaper. — Passes have been granted for a Serjeant and so many men, to go out and purchase provisions, by which means the stores cannot impose on the troops, and they now sell their commodities at the market price. Having so long dwelt upon public affairs, you no doubt will be happy to hear something relative to my own.

The resolution of Congress in preventing our embarkation was a very severe trial indeed, but we

are now become more reconciled; and as Hope, that great support through life, never forsakes us, we are in expectation that at the end of the ensuing campaign, we may in all probability be regularly exchanged; for my own part, I have made up my mind; — and as I find Cambridge very expensive, on account of the great number of officers who reside there, I am going to remove my quarters to a farm house, near the town of Mystic, in order to live a little reasonable; we have had no pay since our arrival, but what has been in paper money, which lowers very fast, so that you are compelled to purchase such articles as you think you are in want of, otherwise your money will not be a third of the value it was at the time you received it. The exchange of hard money is now at the rate of forty and fifty paper dollars for a guinea. What must you think of the depreciation in these few months, since we were made prisoners, when we could with difficulty get only nine. On account of unavoidable expences, and the depreciation of the paper currency, I have drawn on you for fifty pounds, which bill you will please to honor, and place to the account of

Your's, &c.

LETTER LIV

Mystic, in New England,
May 10, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT has ever been a maxim in all ages, and unhappily formed upon experience, that events are seldom answerable to expectations; when we form to ourselves a promising prospect, how mortifying is a disappointment — such is our present situation; for after a second application of General Burgoyne to Congress, to effect our liberty, in which state of suspence we have been for a length of time, he has at last received a positive denial to his repeated solicitations. They have, however, on the 3d of last March, passed a resolve, that Lieutenant General Burgoyne, on account of his ill state of health, may have leave to embark for England; and shortly after this intelligence, he left the army for that purpose. This final resolution of Congress, makes our present situation very trying; however, we are forced to be contented, for the greater power bears the sway all the world over.

From the conversation of a number of gentlemen of the first name and property, who were not quite so violent in their measure as a *Hancok* or an *Adams*; I have been thoroughly convinced, that none of them entertained the most distant thought of withdrawing from our Government at the com-

mencement of hostilities, but now they have joined in that hereditary and settled hatred which the New Englanders in general ever entertained against the constitution of our country, both in Church and State, ever exclaiming against tyranny and persecution, have assumed a power unmasked, and are cruel insolent and persecuting; exclusive of their daily imprisoning and harrassing the poor Loyalists, I think the trial of Colonel Henley sufficiently marks their character.

The Spring is now far advanced, and the country around has a charming appearance; our attention to the many novelties that present themselves is taken off by the variety of birds, whose plumage is peculiarly beautiful, the most remarkable are the Fire-bird, Hanging-bird, Blue-bird and Humming-bird.

The Fire-bird is somewhat larger than a sparrow, and its plumage is of a fine deep yellow, resembling a flame color, from whence it derives its name.

The Hanging-bird is of about the same size, of a brilliant orange, with a few black feathers in the wing, which forms a pleasing contrast: It appears as if this bird was sensible what enemies men, as well as other animals, are to the young of the feathered creation, for they construct their nests upon the extremity of a large bough, not in the nature of other birds, but suspended at a considerable distance from the bough, resembling a hornet's nest; on one side there is a hole where the birds enter. It is somewhat remarkable that these nests, though suspended near two feet and a half from the branch

of the tree, and that only by five or six small cords which these birds make from the loose hemp that they pick up, they are never blown down by the high winds. I was present at the taking of one of these nests, and it was with great difficulty it could be disengaged from the branch, without destroying the whole nest. The young ones are the most tractable of the feathered tribe, and in the hands of those who would bestow time and pains, they might be instructed in a variety of little tricks and fancies.

An officer, who was ill and confined to his room, being a great bird-fancier, had a nest with these young ones brought him, which he amused himself with, and finding them tractable, he fed them with flies, for which they would follow him all round the room: in a short time he had them in such command, that they would at his desire, retire to their nest, and come out again either singly, or all three together: one he had such sway over, that he would take it into the garden, and let it fly into a tree, and the instant he called it, the bird flew and perched on his shoulder.

The Blue-bird is of the size, and nearly as numerous as the sparrow; there is nothing remarkable about this bird but its plumage, which is of the most beautiful mazarine, and when the rays of the Sun reflect on it, the color is greatly heightened.

The Humming-birds are in great plenty here, but not near so numerous, as I am informed, they are to the Southward. — This bird being not

only beautiful, but having many peculiarities, and being the least of the feathered creation, not being much larger than an humble bee, you'll pardon my entering into a full detail of it.

The plumage of the cock is beautiful in the extreme, varying into an infinity of colour; in one light it is of a lively green, in another a beautiful blue, and in another a fine golden color: in short, in every ray of light you can possibly turn it, you distinguish a different tint. This little creature subsists upon the juice of flowers, which it sucks up with a long bill; it is really diverting to see it putting its little bill into every flower in a circle; as soon as one is sucked, it flutters to the next; during the sucking the juice out of the flowers it never settles on them, but flutters continually like bees, and moves its wings so quick they appear hardly visible, and during this fluttering make a humming noise. This bird is not very shy, but if you attempt to seize it, flies off with the swiftness of an arrow. You would hardly conceive how predominant the passion of envy is amongst these little creatures; if several of them met on the same bed of flowers, they attack each other with such an impetuosity, that they seem as if they would pierce each other with their bills. In their combats they would often fly into a room if a window is open, fight a little, and flutter away again; they not only possess the passion of envy, but anger; for if they meet with a flower that is withered, or that is withering, and contains no more juice, these little creatures, in a violent pas-

sion, pluck it off and throw it on the ground. I have seen in large gardens, where there has been many beds of flowers, the ground quite covered with the effects of their rage.

The Humming-bird being so exceeding small, and very difficult to catch, I was greatly at a loss to procure one to stuff and add to the collection I am making for you; sensible that firing at it with shot would shatter the little creature to atoms, I knew not what method to devise to obtain one, therefore consulted the inhabitants, who informed me, they never caught them unless they flew into a room when the window was open; for a week and upwards I sat in expectation that that would happen, during which time I employed my thoughts as to some other mode, when it occurred to me, if I loaded a pistol with powder, and put some fine sand as a charge, I thought the great report would either stun them, or the grains of sand would beat them down: and after my patience was quite exhausted as to the other mode of catching them, I adopted my own, which I found succeeded to my wish; for seeing one alight upon a flower, I fired at it, and it fell with the flower, but was not killed, only stunned with the report; as shortly after I had taken it up, it was near escaping; what makes me imagine it was only stunned was, that the grains of sand had not hurt even its feathers; but to ascertain the matter, I procured several only by putting powder in the pistol, which fully proved it was the report that had effect on them.

It is looked upon as a great rarity indeed, if the nest of this little bird is found, and it is merely accidental, as they are only to be met with in swamps, when the trees are very thick of foliage. Having procured the bird, I was anxious to obtain a nest, as I no doubt imagined that it was equally as curious as the bird itself, but well knowing any search that I could make would be in vain, I told several Negroes, who were cutting wood in a swamp, if they found a nest and shewed it me I would give them a dollar; accordingly, one morning a negro came and informed me he had found one; I went with him into the middle of a large swamp, and stopping just by where he had been cutting some wood, he says, "Massa, Massa, dere is de nest," which not being very easily discerned, he got a long pole and pointed to it, when even then I could not see it, perceiving nothing but moss; but taking away his pole hastily, he said, "Massa, keep your eye dere, and you will see de old one;" and shortly after the old one came and settled on the nest, between the forks of a bough; I ascended the tree, and was then as much at a loss to find it till the negro pointed to it, and I saw the old one on the nest: upon my approach she flew off, and kept hovering and humming about my head. In the nest there were two eggs; I cut off the branch the nest was on, and descended the tree, but coming down the main stem, I had the misfortune to drop one of the eggs out of the nest, as I was obliged to bring the branch it was on in my mouth, and although the negro and

myself searched for it near an hour, we could not find it; I cannot but say I was heartily vexed, as the eggs are the greatest curiosity: it is rather fortunate I have one left to send you, otherwise you would scarcely credit it, when I tell you, that although the bird, which, as I before mentioned, is not much larger than an humble bee, the eggs are nearly as large as a wren's.

Upon an examination of the nest, I was not surprized at my discerning it with difficulty from the other moss that grew on the tree, for the outside has a coating of green moss, such as is commonly on old pales, enclosures, and old trees; the nest, as well as the bird, is the least of all others; that which I have taken is round, and the inside is of a brown and quite soft down, which seems to have been collected from the stems of the sumach, which are covered with a soft wool of this color, and the plant grows in great abundance here; the inner diameter of the nest is hardly a geometrical inch at the top, and the depth scarcely half an inch. I have taken peculiar care of it, as well as the nest of the Hanging-bird, and shall send them by the first opportunity, and am sure you will join with me in the adoration of that Being, who has endowed these creatures with such natural instinct, to guard against the wiles of man and other enemies: but what creature is there either offensive, or inoffensive, but some of its species has fallen a victim to the rapacious hand of man.

A few days since, walking out with some officers,

we stopped at a house to purchase vegetables, whilst the other officers were bargaining with the woman of the house, I observed an elderly woman sitting by the fire, who was continually eyeing us, and every now and then shedding a tear. Just as we were quitting the house she got up, and bursting into tears, said, "Gentlemen, will you let a poor "distracted woman speak a word to you before you "go?" We, as you must naturally imagine, were all astonished, and upon enquiring what she wanted, with the most poignant grief and sobbing as if her heart was on the point of breaking, asked if any of us knew her son, who was killed at the battle of Huberton, a Colonel Francis. Several of us informed her, that we had seen him after he was dead. She then enquired about his pocket-book, and if any of his papers were safe, as some related to his estates, and if any of the soldiers had got his watch; if she could but obtain that in remembrance of her dear, dear son, she should be happy. Captain Ferguson, of our regiment, who was of the party, told her, as to the Colonel's papers and pocket-book, he was fearful they were either lost or destroyed; but pulling a watch from his fob, said, "There, good woman, if that can make you happy, "take it, and God bless you." We were all much surprized, as unacquainted, as he had made a purchase of it from a drum-boy. On seeing it, it is impossible to describe the joy and grief that was depicted in her countenance; I never in all my life, beheld such a strength of passion; she kissed it, looked

unutterable gratitude at Captain Ferguson, then kissed it again; her feelings were inexpressible, she knew not how to express or shew them; she would repay his kindness by kindness, but could only sob her thanks; our feelings were lifted up to an inexpressible height; we promised to search after the papers, and I believe, at that moment, could have hazarded life itself to procure them.

You know, I ever had an aversion to tea, as being highly detrimental to the stomach, and always made use of some substitute. I have now adopted one, which the inhabitants make use of, ever since they made a virtue contrary to their inclinations, of not drinking tea at the time of the Boston Port Bill, which is the flowers that grow upon the sassafras tree; as to the efficacy of the root of this tree, in all scorbutic cases, it is well known, I therefore conceive the flowers must have more virtue; the flavor that they produce is extremely delicious, greatly resembling that of a peach: the sassafras trees grow in abundance, they are scattered on the borders of the woods and near bushes and inclosures; and are generally one of the first trees that spring up on uncultivated ground; the cows are extremely greedy after the shoots of the tree, and search for them everywhere; if they are in an enclosure the cattle will knock down the fence to get at them; the women make use of the bark for dying worsted, which produces a beautiful orange that does not fade in the sun.

In the beginning of this letter I mentioned that

General Burgoyne is sailed for England. No doubt, on his arrival, his enemies will be attacking him in all quarters, do not you be led away with the general voice and follow a misled faction, the General, in every situation of danger and difficulty, ever had the confidence of the army; even in the late recent affair of Colonel Henley's, they were perfectly satisfied with his efforts and exertions to procure them redress; many ill-minded and malicious persons will assert that he has sought his own ease and comfort and forsaken his distressed army: In that respect I can with the utmost confidence assert, that neither officer or soldier expressed dissatisfaction at his return to England; so far from it, it was their wish he should go to Europe to justify his own and their conduct. He has shared at all times the dangers and afflictions in common with every soldier; they look on him as their friend, and would receive him in person, or any accounts of him with marks of affection; and wishing you may be impressed with those ideas, and hold it forth against all calumniators, I remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER LV

Mystic, in New England,
May 20th, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE intentions of Congress are very apparent as to our detention as prisoners, no doubt as hostages, in case of failure to the Southward the ensuing campaign, and apprehensive that some diversion may be made near Boston, so that our soldiers might either be released, or escape to any army that may make a landing. The Council of Boston, under pretence that the troops would fare better, removed the first brigade of the British, consisting of the artillery, advanced corps, and ninth regiment, on the 15th of last month from Prospect Hill, to a place called Rutland, fifty-five miles further up the country, at which place they are to stay till further orders from Congress; the rest of the British troops are shortly to follow; as to the Germans, the Americans look upon them so tame and submissive, that they are to remain at their old quarters, on Winter Hill.

By an officer who came from Rutland, we learn, that the first brigade arrived there the 17th, about two o'clock; the men were sent to barracks that were picketed in with pickets near twenty feet high, and had been treated with great severity, very badly supplied with provisions, and denied to go

out for any thing amongst the inhabitants. The officers with great difficulty obtained quarters in the neighbouring houses, and those at a considerable distance from each other. It happened rather fortunately for the troops, that a vessel under a flag of truce arrived with some necessaries just before they marched, otherwise the men would have been in a wretched state.

We do not so readily procure necessaries from the country people as we were accustomed, having only Congress money to pay them for their commodities, for they entertain little opinion as to its value; and I am induced to think that the earnest civility and desire to oblige, which they first shewed us, proceeded from no other motive, than that they should receive hard money in payment for their goods.

The trees are now in full blossom, and as every house has an orchard adjoining, the country looks quite beautiful; upon enquiry of the inhabitants, I find most of the European fruits have degenerated in New England, except the apple, which it is said, if it has not improved, it has multiplied exceedingly. I am the more induced to credit this, as the use of cyder is more common here, than in any other part of the world. Most of our roots and garden-stuffs have had good success, but the seeds, either for want of proper care, or the methods of preserving them, do not thrive so well; wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more straw than grain; but to supply these defects,

the maize, or Indian corn, thrives exceeding well, which is their grand staple commodity, that supplies both themselves and cattle: as to Indian corn, it is now so generally known in England, I shall not tire your patience with a long description of it; but only observe, that were the heat more predominant in the summer months in England, I think it might easily be raised; its grain is certainly the heartiest, and most strengthening food for cattle and poultry, and gives their meat a firmness and exquisite flavor. I am averse to feeding horses with it, for it makes them so liable to founder. A few days ago I saw an instance of its pernicious effects at an ordinary, where a man, being in liquor, and had rode hard, and his horse exceedingly heated, would insist on its being fed — the poor creature eat his meal very heartily, and in about two hours after was deprived of the use of all his limbs, and lay on the ground trembling and shaking every nerve; the only remedy that could be applied, was to take off his shoes, and drag him into a wet swamp, and it was near four days before the creature could stand on its legs, and then it walked very crippled; it grieved me much as it was a very fine blood horse, that the owner had lately got from Virginia, which differ widely from the New England horses; for they, of all the various breeds of that noble animal, certainly are the most peculiar and diabolical to ride; the horses in general have a pretty good head and neck, and from that to their rump, they fall off surprisingly; they are all, without an exception, what

is termed amongst jockies, goose-rumped and cat-ham'd; in a natural pace they will shuffle on for eight or nine miles an hour; it is not that easy kind of pacing that is taught ladies horses, but an unaccountable wriggling gait, that till you are accustomed to it, you are more fatigued in riding two miles, than a whole day's fox-chace; in short, you cannot possibly form a just idea of it, unless you were mounted on a New-England Rosinante, which title, they justly merit, for I assure you, they are very much *a la Quixote*; and to meet a New-Englander riding in the woods with his blazing iron (the term they give to a musket or gun) you might mistake him for the knight of the Woeful Countenance; their horses are of a very slender make, and not over fat, with a long switch tail and mane down to the horse's knees; for I should observe to you, they never cut either, then the master, with his long legs, bestrides it, which are in stirrups that the toe can but just reach; then his upright position, with his long lank visage, and on his head an old grizely caxon and a large flapped hat, with his saddle-bags behind, and provision-bags before, and his blazing-iron on his shoulder; picture to yourself a man thus mounted, of such an *outré* appearance, and forbear to laugh if you can.

Exclusive of Indian corn, the inhabitants plant great quantities of squashes, which is a species of pumpions or melons; the seed of it, when imported from Europe, by the first settlers, has ever since been cultivated with assiduity, and found to thrive

much better than in Europe; the fruit has an agreeable taste, made use of at table as a vegetable, and dressed as turneps.

The soil of New-England is various, but I observed it was more prolific towards the Southward; there are excellent meadows in the low grounds, and good pasture almost every where; their best meadows will yield about a ton of hay by the acre; some will produce two, but that is what is termed timothy hay, which is rank and sour. The country, as I before observed, is not favorable to any grain except the Indian corn; the cattle in New-England are very numerous, and some of them very large; hogs are likewise in great abundance, and particularly excellent, being fattened upon the Indian corn, and some so large as to weigh twenty-five score.

We have of late been greatly amused in catching of ell-wives, or ale-wives, a species of fish, greatly resembling a herring, both as to make and flavor, but somewhat smaller; they come up all the creeks and inlets from the sea at this season to spawn, floating in with the tide in large shoals, and proceeding as far as they can for fresh water; when the tide is going out they return, at which time they are caught by means of nets fastened round a hoop, and affixed to a long pole; the nets are very deep, and at one haul you may catch two or three dozen. It is part of the traffic of the inhabitants, who salt them down, and barrel them for the West-Indies.

I need not tell you of a restless disposition we English are of, and that we must be employed

on something, situated as we are, without books, newspapers, or any other amusement: some officers, who came from the West of England, have instituted the diversion of fighting of cocks; for my own part, you know, I ever esteemed it a barbarous custom, and a disgrace to our nation, and cannot but say I was a little pleased at a reprimand that some officers met with from an old woman, to whom they had applied for a couple of fine birds that were in the yard, she enquired if they were to fight, or to kill for eating; being told the former, she in a most violent rage exclaimed, "I swear now you shall have "neither of them; I swear now I never saw any "thing so bloodthirsty as you Britonions be; if "you can't be fighting and cutting other people's "throats, you must be setting two harmless crea- "tures to kill one another; Go along, go; I have "heard of your cruel doings at Watertown (the "place where the cocks fought) cutting off the "feathers, and the poor creature's comb and gills, "and putting on iron things upon their legs; go "along, I say." I could not help laughing to see them decamp in haste, as the old woman had worked herself into such a passion, that they expected she would have struck them with her crutch, which she lifted up to give the greater energy to her language. This is the only instance in my memory, that can reflect credit on American humanity.

New-England produces very good timber, the woods and swamps abounding with oak, elm, ash, cypress, pine, chesnut, walnut, cedar, astrin, beach,

fir, sassafras, and sumach, with all other kind of trees that grow in England; the firs are of an extraordinary growth, for masts, yards and planks; the sumach is much used by the tanners and dyers, and the cedar produces sweet gums, besides being extremely useful in making shingles for coverings to their dwellings, as being the most durable, and least injured by the weather; but the treasure and glory of the woods are the monarch oak, the spruce, and fir trees, which are in such abundance, that the navy of England might be supplied with all sorts of naval stores at a cheaper rate than from the Baltic; and it is on this account that they build more ships in this province, than all the other parts of America; and they have the reputation of being very well built and strong; to this strength is chiefly imputed their being such bad sailing vessels.

To Europeans, the noise of the frogs, of which there are vast numbers, and of various species, is at first very alarming, and till accustomed, you are at a loss to make out from whence such a hideous noise proceeds, there are thirty different voices among them, some of which resemble the bellowing of a bull. In order that you may conceive how numerous they are all over the continent, as likewise how clamorous, I shall relate a circumstance which has been told me, and vouched for an absolute fact by the person who related it.

One Summer night, in the month of July, 1758, the town of Windham, which stands on the borders of Winnomantic River, in Connecticut, was greatly

alarmed by a number of these reptiles which were marching, or rather hopping in a body, from an artificial pond, near three miles square, that, by the exceeding heat of the weather was dried up. This pond was about five miles from Windham, in their way to the Winnomantic, they were under the necessity of keeping the road that led through the town; they entered about midnight; the bull-frog, as being the most powerful, in the front, the rest following; they were so exceedingly numerous, that they were some hours passing through, and for want of water unusually clamorous. The inhabitants were greatly terrified, and fled from their beds naked, near half a mile, imagining it was the French and Indians; the men, after a little recollection, finding no enemy in pursuit, mustered courage to return; when they came near the town, they imagined they distinctly heard the words *Wight, Helderkin, Dier, Tété*, which resembles the noise they make, and in their fright they thought the last word meant *treaty*, when three of them, in their shirts, approached to treat with the General of the French and Indians; but being dark, and no answer given, their terrors were greatly encreased, and they were distracted between hope and fear; at length day appearing, they were eased from all their anxiety, by discovering that this terrific enemy was an army of frogs, dying with thirst, going to the river for a little water. The people of Windham have ever since been laughed at for their timidity by the New-Englanders; but I really believe,

in a similar situation, these Yankees would not have felt themselves much bolder.

At this season of the year, every night you are surrounded with music, not the most harmonic, from frogs, bull-frogs, hooping-owls, and the *whipper will*, a bird so named by its nocturnal song, being a constant repetition of *whipper will*; it is also known by the name of the *Pope*, by reason of its making a noise resembling that word; when it alights upon a tree or fence. I have endeavoured several times to shoot one, but owing to its being dark, and their flying so exceedingly swift, I have never been able to kill. By the information I have gathered from the inhabitants, I find it is about the size of a cuckow, with a short beak, long and narrow wings, a large head, and mouth enormous, what is remarkable, it is not a bird of prey; under the throat there is a kind of skin which it can expand, and fill with air at pleasure, and that enables it to make the noise which resembles the word Pope. From this description, I conceive it to be a Musquito hawk, abundance of which are to be seen in the day time; I accordingly shot one, and found it exactly correspond to the description of the other, only I could not perceive that loose skin under its throat; I rather think that circumstance is imaginary, and am apt to conclude, that the Musquito hawk and whipper-will are the same bird.

I am sorry to inform you that the Americans are too successful in enticing our soldiers to desert; a

few days since the whole band of the sixty-second regiment, excepting the Master, deserted in a body, and are now playing to an American regiment in Boston. The temptations held out to our soldiery are very great, and it must be a Corporal Reeves, and such as possess his principles who can withstand them; think how far it must operate on a soldier's mind, that by desertion he shall be free and protected, allowed to follow his trade, or if he enters their army, obtain a commission; there is now a Major Brown, who has some post in the supplies of provisions, he was a private, and deserted from the forty-seventh regiment, at the battle of Lexington and Concord. The fellow, conscious of his baseness, when he meets an officer of that regiment, rides hastily away, but you must allow it is rather grating to be in the power and under the command of such a villain. You will be pleased with a noble and animated saying of a little drum-boy, not ten years old: this boy's father, who belonged to our regiment, some time since deserted into Boston, and has been as nigh as he could venture with safety to our barracks, to entice or seize his son, and take him with him; but finding it in vain he sent an American to entreat him to go to his father, when the little fellow replied, "No; tell my father, if he is "such a rascal as to desert his King and country, "his son won't; he has fed at their expence, and will "die in their service." I remain

Your's, &c.

LETTER LVI

Mystic, in New England,
Sept. 10, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU must not be surprized if you hear of a massacre; bloody purposes are apparent since my last, three men have been fired at, one of whom was wounded, but the most melancholy catastrophe is the death of Lieutenant Brown, of the twenty-first regiment, who was shot dead in a chaise, as he was conducting two females from the barracks. The centinel who shot him was a little boy, scarce fourteen, who called out to him to stop, but the horses being headstrong, he could not, and putting his head out of the chaise to inform him so, the little rascal in an instant levelled his piece and shot him through the head. Had it not been for a few of our officers who happened to be on the spot, and the great discipline of our men, the boy would have fallen an instant sacrifice; as it was, notwithstanding the presence of our officers, the men could scarce be restrained from seizing the boy from the American guard. By this sad accident fell a brave young man, who had signalized himself during the campaign, and who, had he lived, would have been an ornament to his profession.

When the matter was reported to General Phillips, he instantly wrote the following letter to General Heath:

"Murder and Death has at length taken place; "as to justice I do not ask it, every principle of it "has long forsaken these provinces, I only request "that an officer may be permitted to go to the "Head Quarters of General Washington, to lay the "affair before him."

To this letter the General received no answer, but an order came to the Commanding Officer of the American troops, to put General Phillips under an arrest, and to confine him to his house and garden; he was accordingly laid under an arrest, and his house and garden is surrounded by centinels.

A few days after the above melancholy event, permission being obtained, the remains of poor Brown were interred in the church at Cambridge; all the officers at Cambridge and the environs attended, a most mournful sight! you can easily paint to your imagination what our feelings must have been at the time, for the loss of a young man universally respected, esteemed, beloved, and the reflection, we knew not how soon it might be our own fate; for in the hands of such wretches, our lives are very precarious, and of little value.

I cannot pass over the littleness of mind, and the pitiful resentment of the Americans, in a very trifling circumstance, during the time the service was performing over the body, the Americans seized the opportunity of the church being open, which had been shut since the commencement of hostilities, to plunder, ransack and deface every thing they could lay their hands on, destroying the pul-

pit, reading-desk and communion-table, and ascending the organ loft, destroyed the bellows and broke all the pipes of a very handsome instrument.

Although, (as General Phillips observed in his letter, and which I am induced to believe, is the real situation of affairs in these provinces) every principle of justice had fled from them, still the Americans were not so daring as to overlook such an atrocious crime without some appeal to justice, were it only to deceive the populace with an appearance of it, and therefore ordered a General Court-martial on the boy who shot Lieutenant Brown, the judgment of which was sent by General Heath to General Phillips, that he might give it in orders to the British troops, which was as follows: "The General Court-martial that sat upon the trial "of an American centinel, for shooting Lieutenant "Brown, of the twenty-first regiment, acquit the "said centinel, having done his duty as a good "soldier."

Insults are not only shewn to the officers and soldiers remaining at Cambridge, but if possible, they are treated worse at Rutland. As Mr. Bowen, the surgeon to the ninth regiment, Lieutenant Toriano, of the twentieth regiment, and Lieutenant Houghton, of the fifty-third regiment, were taking an evening's walk, they were met by an inhabitant, who, from his office of *Select Man* (these are a kind of overseers to their meeting-houses, who regulate the affairs of the parish, and report persons for non-attendance at worship, compelling those walking in

the streets, or travellers, on a Sunday, to go to some place of worship; they are very consequential persons, and very officious) derived no small authority, and who had on every occasion distinguished himself for his insolence and persecution of the *prisoners of war*, as well as the unfortunate friends of Government, who had remained in that part of the country; this man of consequence charged those gentlemen with having trespassed on his property, and before they could explain that they had not been off what they considered as the high road, he, in a most menacing manner, accompanied with many opprobrious epithets, shook a whip over their heads. Mr. Bowen, who happened to be next the man on this occasion, resented the insult with a blow, a conflict ensued, in which the countryman was worsted, though Mr. Bowen was severely bruised on the occasion, the countryman presuming, as well from his personal strength as his authority.

Though this insult had been given these gentlemen in the sight of many people on the road, who also bore testimony to Mr. Bowen's alone having struck him, these three gentlemen (through the influence of this *Select Man*) were shortly after their return to their lodgings, taken by a party of the guards, conveyed to the guard-house, where they passed the night in the *common* guard-room. The soldiers of the guard occupying the platform, these gentlemen were obliged to put up with the dirty floor, where they suffered every kind of indignity

from the guard, who, not satisfied with making use of the most indecent language, would *spit* on them as they lay on the floor; in the morning they were removed to an adjoining barrack room, where they were very little better accommodated, and after seven or eight days confinement, they were given to understand, they were to be delivered up to the *civil* power.

The humanity of Major Carter, of the artillery, who was the senior officer of the Convention troops at Rutland (as well as considering it his duty to interfere) induced him from the first of the confinement of these gentlemen, to interest himself very warmly in their behalf, he had frequently remonstrated with the Commanding Officer of the guard, at the cruelty and injustice of their conduct towards them, but not being able to obtain redress, demanded a pass to send an officer to Cambridge, in order to represent the affair, through General Phillips, to the Commanding Officer at Boston. Major Carter then informed these Gentlemen, that as he thought it necessary for the good of the troops in *general*, to make *their* treatment a *public concern*, it was *his* orders they should wait the result of General Phillips's interference with the American General, and not to act for themselves in the business on any account.

Before the return of the officer from General Phillips, these gentlemen were taken to a justice, who resided some distance from Rutland, before whom they were conducted with all the ceremony

of criminals going to trial. The magistrate, who was an apothecary, possessed a few *hard* words, and a most starched puritanical air, and perhaps on this account, had been judged under the new government the only man of the neighbourhood capable of supporting the dignity of a country justice: he was surrounded with a numerous train of officers of the *police*, such as *committee* and *select* men, who, with a number of spectators, whom curiosity had brought together, to be present at the *trial* (as they expressed themselves) made a very formidable groupe.

The gentlemen were no sooner brought before this very awful *Court of Justice*, than Doctor Frienck (for so the Justice was called) who was placed in the most conspicuous part of the room in an arm chair, with *infinite* solemnity, and all the importance of office (without even permitting the least accusation as to any offence committed by them) asked them "whether they pleaded *guilty* or "*not guilty* of the crimes laid to their charge?" On this occasion, I think it would have been difficult for any indifferent person to have restrained his risible faculties; nay, the gentlemen themselves have declared it was not without the utmost circumspection they could compose their muscles to this curious demand of the Justice; one of the gentlemen informed this worshipful magistrate, "That they having suffered so many days confine-"ment under the *military* guard very *unjustly*, as "they conceived, and their commanding officer

"having thought it necessary to make the treat-"ment they had met with a *public* concern, they "looked up to *their General* for redress, conse-"quently were not allowed to plead either one way "or the other!"

The Justice, enraged at what he conceived a slight to his authority, without hesitation committed them to *prison*, with the additional charge of *contempt of Court*, and the next morning they were conducted by a body of armed constables to Worcester, about ten miles distance, and were lodged in the county jail, where, with two gentlemen, who were imprisoned as enemies to the *States*, they occupied a very confined dungeon, out of which a woman had, a very short time before, been taken to execution, for the murder of her husband.

On their first entrance into this most gloomy state of security, it may easily be imagined, their feelings received no small shock, and their fellow prisoners perceiving their distress, one of them, who had been bred to the sea, by way of offering some consolation in his own way, observed, that he could only compare their situation to that of so many *young bears*, whose misfortunes were all to come. The excessive heat of the weather, with the confinement in this detestable hole, which, when their mattrasses were laid on the floor, compleatly filled it; and from whence, on no occasion, or the pressing calls of nature, they were allowed to retire, must, in a very short time, have rendered their existence burthensome, if not deprived them of it,

had they not found means of softening the heart of a Mulatto woman, who served them with provisions through a hole, and who, by the force of bribes and fair promises, was prevailed upon to open the door upon those occasions for fresh air.

During their confinement, no attention was wanting on the part of their brother officers, to alleviate the horrors of their wretched situation, who gave them hopes of soon being relieved, through the interposition of *their* General. But at the expiration of *three* days, they received a message by an officer from Major Carter, at Rutland, expressing his extreme concern that *he* should in any measure be accessary to their being sent to prison, at the same time lamenting that his representation of their very unjust and cruel usage had produced no other effect than a letter from General Phillips, part of which the Major had transcribed for their perusal, which reprobated in the strongest terms, the imprudence of those gentlemen, in paying attention to the insolence or abuse of the people of the country, the General observing, "that they "should listen to the abuse of the Americans, as to "the mere *cackling of geese*;" and concluded with saying, "He should not concern himself with a "*boxing-match*." — Here I cannot but censure the conduct of General Phillips, for if he had his reasons for not making an application to General Heath, he should not have retorted so severely on the gentlemen, especially when it is considered two of them were innocent of the crime alledged; at the

same time, the General might have recollected his own warmth of temper was, at that very moment, the occasion of his confinement to his house and garden.

In consequence of Major Carter's message, these unfortunate gentlemen (two of whom, as I have just observed, had not even been guilty of the crime imputed to them, who had always found some consolation in reflecting, that they were *then* suffering in conformity to the *will* of *their* Commanding Officer, and as they were given to understand, for the *public good*, and that through the interposition and zeal of *their General*, they should obtain justice, and be set at liberty,) found themselves reduced to the necessity of shifting for themselves.

On consulting a lawyer (the assistance of whom is seldom wanting in *any* country for *certain considerations*) the learned limb of the law, after examining their commitment, and satisfying himself, with respect to the state of their finances, gave them to understand, that he should be able to prove a *flaw* in it — for *it* specified a crime against the *States*, when it was evident the *breach of peace* that they were charged with, could only *affect* the State of *Massachusets* (the State they were then in) but added, to bring their cause forward for the consideration of the Court during the assizes, that were *then* sitting, the *fees* would be considerable. — His terms, though exorbitant, were readily acceded to by these gentlemen, and by that means they were

enabled to relieve themselves from the horrors of a dungeon, on quitting which, it was their observation, that they had little more reason to *extol the humanity* of their *own General*, than they had the justice of the Americans.

Having often made several remarks, as to the footing military discipline is upon, I think, by the prosecution of these gentlemen, you will see upon what grounds of justice and equity their civil laws are founded, and even supposing they gain their independency, what anarchy and confusion must ensue, for want of rulers with good hearts, to enforce the laws of equity and justice. The mist that is before the eyes of Americans must shortly pass away, when they will clearly see how easily they have given up the sweet content and happiness they possessed, and the innumerable privileges and liberties they enjoyed when under our Government. — Deluded people, when it is too late, you will see your error! I speak not partially nor vaguely, but am confident there is not one, let him be ever so bigotted to Independency, can lay his hand upon his breast and say, that he experiences that ease and happiness he ever was accustomed to, and when he looks forward, in all human probability, neither he nor his generation ever will — Many, I am certain, are now open to conviction, and would wish to retract, but having engaged, they are ashamed; and rather than abandon a principle that they hastily adopted, prefer sacrificing their lives and fortunes: Difference of opinion ever will prevail, but it is the

very height, nay, the very principle of madness, not to be open to conviction. In hopes that they soon may, and a permanent union formed between the Mother-country and her colonies, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER LVII

Mystic, in New England,
Nov. 6th, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I CANNOT impute any blame to you, but no letter has reached me for an age. Your friendship for me is so sincere, that agreeable to my first request on communicating our literary correspondence, you no doubt have answered all my letters; all must be laid to my present situation, and the want of friends at New-York, to send them to me. Many officers have received letters; and by our friend, Captain B——, who has a short epistle from you, I have the happiness to hear you enjoy a perfect state of health, and that you altogether reside at the old family mansion, in Norfolk. I do not claim your promise of answering this, but wait till the next, as it is very uncertain where any letter will find me, for the Congress have passed a resolve, to march the Convention army from the State of Massachusets to Charlottesville, in the province of Virginia, where barracks are erected, and where the troops can be more readily supplied with provisions.

When this resolve of Congress was made known, every one was struck with amazement; but upon reflection, it certainly is obvious, that the views of Congress, by marching the men eight hundred

miles in the depth of winter, would be the means of their deserting in numbers, rather than endure such fatigue. General Washington has had the humanity to order waggons for the women and children; what adds to the distresses of the soldiers, is their being so badly cloathed, having only the jackets that were made from their coats in the winter, whilst in Canada; and what is still more mortifying, a cartel ship arrived but two days since from New-York, with cloathing for the army: however, the men are to be supplied with shoes, shirts, stockings and cloth leggings, and the rest is to go round to James River, in Virginia. General Phillips will ask no favor of General Heath, otherwise, I think, he could not be so divested of humanity, as not to defer the march for a week, during which time the men might be cloathed; all is now hurry and confusion, as the first division march the 10th instant; the army is to follow in divisions, the same as they did from Saratoga to Cambridge.

We are in great distress for want of money too, to undertake this march, none has arrived from New-York, and to add to our consolation, the Commander in Chief has written to General Phillips, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, no more hard money should be sent to the Convention army; this is, no doubt, with a view that so much coin as is necessary for the payment of our army should not be in circulation among the Americans, and be an inducement to detain us longer; the motive certainly is very good, but what is to become of poor

subalterns, who, as it is, can scarcely subsist on their pay? No matter for that, you'll say, "private "interest must give way for the public good." Therefore we must have recourse to the only method of removing the evil, by drawing bills on the Paymaster; but you are not aware of the sad effects attending it, it must inevitably ruin one half of the officers, for it is with great difficulty you can get a bill discounted, and that only in paper money, which depreciates so exceedingly fast, that it soon loses a third of its value: only imagine, since our arrival it is so depreciated, that we get sixty and seventy dollars for a guinea; but in discounting a bill you can with difficulty get forty; what with discount and depreciation, what a loss there must be upon every bill that is drawn. It may certainly be judicious in politics, to withhold the pay from the troops, but at the same time it must be highly injurious to fortunes of individuals, for I can assert it as a fact, that for every bill of ten pounds, you do not in reallity, get more than six guineas and a half, and so in proportion.

The inhabitants of Massachusetts would certainly keep up the credit of the Congress money, and make it somewhat more valuable, but the people from the Southward, from the Carolinas and Virginia, who in the course of their large dealings, are compelled to take the money in payment, sensible of the uncertainty of its value, wish to realize it into solid coin; therefore think little of the journey, from those distant provinces to Boston, to ex-

change with our army; they are sensible of the risk they run, and are very cautious. But as the people to the Southward possess more liberal sentiments, and know the principles of British officers, they, as we walk by, will enter into conversation, and frankly ask if you want any paper dollars? They are rather cautious as to the Germans, for two German officers not being able to get so much from a man as they wanted, they informed against him, and he was sent to prison in Boston. These traders of paper money are very uncertain, sometimes there will be a scarcity of them for some days, at other times there will be a dozen or two at a time; we then stick out for our exchange; one day guineas rose from twenty-five and twenty-six dollars, up to thirty-six, and I should observe to you, that when once they rise, they never fall.

A few days since there was a meeting of the Commanding Officers of the several corps, at General Phillips's, to consult upon some method of procuring money for the different regiments; various were the modes proposed, and the Paymaster-General consulted; but they could not agree upon any, when a Commanding Officer observed to General Phillips, that it was impossible the troops could march without money, and he was certain the officers of his regiment had not twenty paper dollars among them. General Phillips, with a warmth that spoke his good intentions, replied "Good God, "Sir, what would you have me to do, I cannot "make money; I wish to God you could slit me into

"paper dollars, I would chearfully submit for the "good of the troops?" At last it was resolved, that the Paymaster-General was to use his best endeavours, in which he succeeded, and the next day procured a considerable sum, which was immediately distributed to the different regiments. It is sufficient to enable the troops to march, and the Paymaster is to go to New-York, in hopes the Commander in Chief will issue some money upon this emergency.

It fell to the lot of an officer who is quartered with me, to go express with the money to the different regiments at Rutland, and you would have laughed at his distress, in what manner to deposit the paper dollars, for he was not without his apprehensions of being way-laid, and it was then nearly dark. He had scarcely two hundred pounds sterling, but that sum in paper dollars, makes a great bulk; at last, he thought the safest mode would be, to sew it in the lining, accordingly ordering his servant, he ripped open his coat, sewed in the dollars by large parcels — and thus accoutred he set off, and was a welcome visitor at Rutland — had not this seasonable relief arrived, the confusion would have been very great, as many officers, rather than march without, had got themselves arrested, and were going to jail.

Were it not for the distresses of the soldiers, I cannot, for my own part, but say, this march was rather agreeable, for it enables me to see the southern part of America, which I must confess, I have a

strong inclination for, having heard very great accounts of those Provinces, and how much superior they are in every respect to this; and it is no unpleasing reflection, after the cruelties and barbarities the troops have experienced since our arrival, that we are quitting such an inhospitable country; but in the most flourishing times, I find this province was never remarkable for its courtesy to strangers.

Being at present much taken up in preparing for this long march, I hope you'll excuse the shortness of this epistle, at the same time assuring you, that you shall hear from me by every opportunity that occurs.

Your's, &c.

LETTER LVIII

Sherwood's Ferry, upon the Banks of the Delaware, Dec. 10, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

ON my leaving New-England, I joined the regiment, just as they had crossed the Connecticut River, at Endfield; but in my way to this place, I and another officer, who accompanied me, had a very narrow escape of being sent to prison, for in travelling at night we mistook our road, and got into the town of Springfield, which was out of the route laid down for us, and is unfortunately the great arsenal of all military stores for the State of Massachusets; happily for us, the landlord of the house we put up at was a friend to Government, who concealed us, and we were glad to get away before day-break, not but it could be clearly proved it was merely accidental: But these Americans will not hearken to reason, and no doubt they would have found people ready enough to swear, that we went there either as spies, or to destroy their stores.

At a small town we passed through in Connecticut called Sharon, there is an exceeding curious mill, invented by one Joel Harvey, and for which he received a present of twenty pounds from the Society of Arts and Sciences. By the turning of one wheel the whole is set in motion; there are two apartments where the wheat is ground; two others

where it is bolted, in a fifth threshed, and in a sixth winnowed; in another apartment, hemp and flax are beaten; and in an adjoining apartment it is dressed; what adds greatly to the ingenuity of this construction is, that either branch may be discontinued without impeding the rest.

Most of the places you pass through in Connecticut are called townships (as the township of Endfield, Suffield, &c.) which are not regular towns as in England, but a number of houses dispersed over a large tract of ground, belonging to one corporation, that sends members to the General Assembly of the States. About the centre of these townships stands the meeting-house, or church, with a few surrounding houses; sometimes the church stands singly. It is no little mortification, when fatigued, after a long day's journey, on enquiring how far it is to such a town, to be informed you are there at present; but on enquiring for the church, or any particular tavern, you are informed it is seven or eight miles further.

I could not help remarking, that the houses are all after the same plan, and what was rather singular, most of them were only one half finished, the other half having only the rough timbers that support the building; upon enquiry I found, that when a man builds a house, he leaves it in this state till his son marries, when he fits it up for his family, and the father and son live under one roof, as though they were two distinct houses; but as the houses are entirely compleat on the outside, and

the windows all glazed, they have the appearance of being finished, but on entering a house, you cannot at first help lamenting that the owner was unable to complete it.

Just before we crossed the North River, we came to the town of Fish Kill, which has not more than fifty houses, in the space of near three miles, but this place has been the principal depot of Washington's army, where there are magazines, hospitals, workshops, &c. which form a town of themselves; they are erected near a wood, at the foot of a mountain, where there are a great number of huts, which have been the winter quarters of the American army, and to which they are shortly expected to return for the ensuing winter; they are a miserable shelter from the severe weather in this country, and I should imagine, must render their troops very sickly, for these huts consist only of little walls made with uneven stones, and the intervals filled up with mud and straw, a few planks forming the roof; there is a chimney at one end, at the side of which is the door. Near the magazines are some well-constructed barracks, with a prison, surrounded with lofty pallisadoes. In this prison were a number of unfortunate friends to Government, who were seized in their plantations, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and who were confined till a sloop was ready to take them to New-York; for the Americans are so oppressive, they will not let any one remain neuter; and they compel every inhabitant, either to take

the oath, or quit the country. When we crossed the river, there were two large sloops going to New-York, crouded with people of this description, many of whom, the boatmen informed us, had left beautiful houses, with extensive, and well cultivated plantations.

General Washington was not without his apprehensions, that Sir Henry Clinton would make some efforts to retake us, either by an expedition up the North River, or in our march through the Jerseys, and therefore took every precaution to frustrate any plan that might be concerted, for upon the arrival of our army at Fish Kill, General Washington moved his army into the middle of the Jerseys, and detached a considerable body of troops to escort us, so very apprehensive was he of a rescue, that to each brigade of ours they had a brigade of armed men, who marched the men in close columns. As to the officers they paid little attention, as we had signed a very strict parole, previous to our leaving New-England. Now we have passed the Delaware, the Pensylvania Militia are to guard us, and the brigades that escorted us through New-York and the Jerseys, return to Washington's army.

In a former letter I delivered my sentiments on our having possession of the North River, and on crossing it, they were fully confirmed; for the Americans judging it was the plan of the campaign, 1777, to make ourselves masters of the North River, and thus to separate the Eastern from the Western States, after the taking of Forts Mont-

gomery and Clinton, and our troops proceeding so far as Œsopus, and then returning to New-York, they immediately began to fortify West Point, which is not at present compleated, but when it is, will be impregnable, and effectually prevent any fleets passing; it being a point of land that projects, and makes a winding in the river, and at the same time narrows it, so as to have the whole command at that place. No doubt the Americans made choice of this post, as the most important to fortify, and Fish Kill as a place the best calculated for a depot of provisions and other stores, as being situated on the high road from Connecticut, and near the North River. It is by this important post of West Point, that the Americans are enabled to keep possession of the North River, and a communication between the Northern and Southern Provinces; and I do once more assert, not only upon my own opinion, but of the Americans themselves, that had we kept possession of the North River, the war would have been by this time, nearly terminated in favor of Great-Britain.

As we passed through the Jerseys, I was much delighted with the falls that are on the Pasiac River, being totally different from those of Montmorency, and others I had seen. The river is near forty yards wide, and runs with a swift, but smooth current, till coming to a deep chasm, that crosses the channel, it falls in one entire sheet near seventy feet perpendicular; one end of the chasm or cleft of the rock is closed up, and at the other, the water rushes

out with an incredible rapidity, in an acute angle, and is received into a large bason, from whence it winds through several rocks, and then spreads in a considerable channel. The spray formed a beautiful rainbow, which rendered the scene such as left the imagination nothing to add to its grandeur. This extraordinary phenomenon, no doubt, must have been the production of an earthquake. The inhabitants who reside near it, have a story handed down to them of two Indians, who venturing too near the falls in a canoe, were carried down the precipice and dashed to pieces. What considerably heightened the scene is, another fall, about thirty or forty yards from the great one, where the water most beautifully glides down some ledges of the rock, that are two or three feet perpendicular.

I was much struck at the grandeur of the North River, from the majestic appearance of the high lands that are on one side of it, and the beautiful meadows interspersed with farm houses on the other. What greatly adds to its beauty is the width, being near a mile and a half across; although pleased with the river and the surrounding objects, still this idea would present itself, that the water I was then sailing on, might in a few hours, be at New-York where every one is continually wishing to approach. You must pardon these melancholy reflections, they are the effusions of nature, and will burst forth — but to return to my description of the river: It is navigable from New-York to Albany, for large sloops, from whence there is a

communication by the Mohawk and other rivers (except a few carrying places) into the most interior parts of America, through the country of the Six Nations, as far as Lake Ontario; then by a continuation of the Hudson, or North River, for they are the same, there is communication with the River St. Lawrence, through the Lakes George, Champlain, and the river Sorel. This river merits the greatest attention, and had not the present contest arose, some spirited gentlemen had it in contemplation, by means of locks and canals, to have opened a passage for small sloops. No doubt, a century hence, there will be water carriage for schooners and sloops from Quebec to New-York, which must greatly add to the wealth and commerce of America.

The small part of New-York we passed through, seems to be well cultivated; it affords grain of all sorts; there are abundance of cattle, hogs and poultry. As to the Jerseys, they marched us so much in the back settlements, that I had not an opportunity of seeing those parts, which were, before the war, deemed the garden of America.

We passed through a little town called Hopel, before we crossed the North River, which is chiefly inhabited by the Dutch. At a house where we were quartered, the people behaved extremely civil and attentive, and upon leaving them, would scarce permit us to pay for what we had: from which circumstance we concluded they were friends to Government, and some officers opening their heart,

spoke very freely about the Congress, Washington, &c. observing how great a shame it was, that we should be put to such expence, and that Congress ought to pay for us, the man went out of the room in a moment, and just as we were mounting our horses, brought us an enormous bill, exorbitant in every article, which he insisted upon being paid, and upon our urging that we had paid him what he had demanded, he replied, "Yes, gentlemen, "so you have, but then I thought Congress were "to defray all your expences; now I know you are "to pay me, I can't take a farthing less than this "bill," which we were compelled to discharge; however, it served as a lesson in future, to be cautious before whom we railed against Congress.

The Paymaster, as we expected, joined us in the Jerseys, which has enabled us to proceed on our march, and by whom we have received accounts, that Sir Henry Clinton purposes to make an exchange of prisoners this winter; a partial exchange, as to officers has taken place, and many have quitted us; this partiality has given much offence, as it is but justice, when a number are to be exchanged, they should draw lots.

Hitherto the weather has been remarkably temperate and fine, which is extremely fortunate for the men, as they have mostly slept in the woods; but since we came into a more populous country, they have slept in barns. When we left New-England the frosts were very severe, here we have not any, being so much to the southward, and in a

manner, the further we proceed we fall in with the close of the Autumn.

One morning, as we renewed our march, the weather being remarkably fine, some officers were extolling the beauty of the morning, an old woman who was in the croud, and overheard him, in the most violent rage exclaimed, "Well, for my part, "I believe God Almighty has turned *Tory*, to give "these Britainers such fine weather for their march."

At a house where I slept in the Jerseys, the owner who was a friend to Government, had left an exceeding fine plantation, near Trenton, and retired to this place till the termination of the war, made heavy complaints of the troops plundering both friends and foes. He observed, as to the British soldiers, they only pilfered poultry and pigs, but the Hessians entered houses, broke open drawers, taking away plate, cloaths, and other valuables; but to point out to you what an idea they must have of plundering something, he related that he saw some Germans enter a house which was abandoned by the owner, in which they had left an eight day clock, and a few tables and chairs, that he shortly after observed one of the Germans come out of the house with the works of the clock, pendulum, and all the leaden weights; this enormous weight, in addition to his knapsack and accoutrements, the fellow had near twenty miles to carry to New-York, where the most he could possibly get for it, would be three or four dollars. After he had related this story, he observed, that the

desolation of the Jerseys, which included friends, and moderate persons, as well as enemies, had done great injury to our cause, as it had united the latter more firmly, and detached numbers of the former — exaggerated accounts of all the enormities that had been committed were published in all their prints, which determined those who were wavering, and imbittered the minds of every class throughout the colonies, and he concluded with a sigh, observing, that the resentment, occasioned by the depredations carried on through the Jerseys, had left few, or scarce any friends to Britain in the province.

The inhabitants of New-York, as well as the Jerseys, are chiefly the posterity of the first settlers in those provinces, who were Dutch, and they seem to retain their principles, industry, frugality, and an assiduous perseverance in the means of thriving. Before the war they must have been in an affluent and happy state, especially their farmers, but now they sow and plant, and know not who will reap the fruits of their labor, for their grain and other produce are taken for the use of the continental army, and in lieu certificates are given to be paid at the Treasury at Philadelphia; to many of them, especially those they imagine are inimical to their cause, they have barely left sufficient for the support of their families and the stock on the farms for the ensuing Winter. Oh deluded Americans, you must be independent, and these are the blessed fruits of those principles!

I was much delighted at meeting a bird lately, peculiar to America, termed the Mocking-bird, which derives its name from imitating the note of every bird they hear; its plumage is very simple and not shewy, it is a Summer bird, very difficult to bring up, and has a very melodious voice, which, in my opinion, would far exceed the Bullfinch, if the same pains were taken with it, from its amazing readiness in catching every note it hears. This one I saw imitated a cock in such a manner, that you could hardly believe but that there was a cock crowing in the room. The inhabitants say this bird is so very shy, that if any person discovers its nest, which is mostly built in bushes, and looks at its eggs, it will never return again to the nest. When a nest of young ones are taken, and put into a cage, they take great care to hang it where the mother cannot get at it, for if she can, she will feed them three or four days, and finding she cannot release them flies away, after which, the young ones shortly die, as in general they cannot eat what is given them; but the inhabitants attribute their death to the mother, who, they say, the last time she feeds them, contrives to give them poison, in order to release them from captivity. — If that really is the case, it shews how repugnant it is to the principles of nature, to confine any thing, and that she calls aloud to partake of the blessings of liberty, but at present it reminds me of my own situation, I must therefore drop the subject.

Your's, &c.

LETTER LIX

Lancaster, in Pensylvania,
Dec. 16th, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE halt a day or two at this town, and I cannot so well employ my leisure time as to give you a description of our march from the Delaware: we crossed the river in scowls, which are flat bottom boats, large enough to contain a waggon and horses; they are a safe conveyance, and mostly used to cross the rivers in this country, they are rowed with oars upon large rivers; but over a creek, which is about three miles from this town, called Conestoga, they pull them across by means of ropes fastened to either shore.

After you get over the Delaware, a new country presents itself, extremely well cultivated and inhabited; the roads are lined with farm houses, some of which are near the road, and some at a little distance, and the space between the road and houses is taken up with fields and meadows; some of them are built of stone, two stories high, and covered with cedar shingles, but most of them are wooden, with the crevices stopped with clay; the ovens are commonly built a little distance from the house, and under a roof to secure them against the weather.

The farmers in Pensylvania, and in the Jerseys,

pay more attention to the construction of their barns than their dwelling-houses. The building is nearly as large as a common country church, the roof very lofty, and covered with shingles, declining on both sides, but not very steep, the walls are about thirty feet; in the middle is the threshing-floor, and above it a loft for the corn unthreshed; on one side is a stable, and on the other a cow-house, and the small cattle have their particular stables and styes; and at the gable end of this building there are great gates, so that a horse and cart can go strait through: thus is the threshing-floor, stable, hay-loft, cowhouse, coach-house, &c. all under one roof.

The Pensylvanians are an industrious and hardy people, they are most of them substantial, but cannot be considered rich, it being rarely the case with landed people. However, they are well lodged, fed, and clad, and the latter at an easy rate, as the inferior people manufacture most of their own apparel, both linnens and woollens, and are more industrious of themselves, having but few blacks among them.

They have a curious method to prevent their geese from creeping through broken inclosures, by means of four little sticks, about a foot in length, which are fastened crossways about their necks. You cannot imagine how extremely aukward they appear, though it is diverting enough to see them walk with this ornament; their mode preventing horses from leaping over their inclosures is equally

as curious, they fasten round the horse's neck a piece of wood, at the lower end of which is a hook, which, catching in the railing, stops the horse just as he is rising to leap over; some indeed, fasten the fore and hind foot together, which makes them walk slow; both these methods are extremely dangerous to the horses.

In New England they have a very few hives of bees, but in this province, almost every farm house has seven or eight; it is somewhat remarkable they should be more predominant here, as all the bees upon the Continent were originally brought from England to Boston, about one hundred years ago; the bee is not natural to America, for the first planters never observed a single one in the immense tract of woods they cleared, and what I think stands forth a most indubitable proof that it is not the Indians, as they have a word in their language for all animals, natives of the country, have no word for a bee, and therefore they call them by the name of the *Englishman's Fly*. On the high road from Philadelphia to this town are milestones, which are the first I observed put up in this country, as to the other parts, the inhabitants only compute the distance at guess. It was no little mortification that we were debarred seeing one of the first cities of America (Philadelphia) we passed within twelve miles of it, and several of us made application to the Commanding Officer who escorted us, to grant permission for us to go into the city, assuring him we would upon our honour join the troops at night.

He was a good-natured man, and nearly complying with our request, but on a sudden said, he really could not, as Congress would be mightily displeased at it; however, we console ourselves, that on our exchange, we may have an opportunity of seeing it.

In the greatest part of our march the inhabitants were making cyder, for in almost every farm there is a press, though made in a different manner; some make use of a wheel made of thick oak plank, which turns upon a wooden axis, by means of a horse drawing it, and some have stone wheels, but they are mostly of the former.

In travelling through Pensylvania, you meet with people of almost every different persuasion of religion that exists; in short, the diversity of religions, nations, and languages here is astonishing, at the same time, the harmony they live in no less edifying, notwithstanding every one, who wishes well to religion, is hurt to see the diversity that prevails, and would, by the most soothing means, endeavour to prevent it; yet, when the misfortune once takes place, and there is no longer an union of sentiments, it is nevertheless glorious to preserve an union of affections, and certainly it must be highly pleasing to see men live, though of so many different persuasions, yet, to the same Christian principles, and though not of the same religion, still to the great end of all, the prosperity and welfare of mankind. Among the numerous sects of religion with which this province abounds, for there are Churchmen, Quakers, Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics, Metho-

dists, Menists, Moravians, Independants, Anabaptists, there is a sect which, perhaps, you never heard of, called the Dumplers; this sect took its origin from a German, who, weary of the world, retired to a very solitary place, about fifty miles from Philadelphia, in order to give up his whole time to contemplation; several of his countrymen came to visit him in his retreat, and by his pious, simple, and peaceable manners, many were induced to settle near him, and, in a short time adopting his modes, they formed a little colony, which they named Euphrates, in allusion to that river upon whose borders the Hebrews were accustomed to sing psalms.

Their little city is built in the form of a triangle, and bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, very regularly planted. In the center of the town is a large orchard, and between the orchard and the ranges of trees that are planted round the borders, are their houses, which are built of wood, and three stories high, in these every Dumpler is left to enjoy his meditations without disturbance; these contemplative men, in the whole, do not amount to more than five hundred; their territory is nearly three hundred acres in extent, on one side is a river, on another a piece of stagnated water, and on the other two are mountains covered with trees.

They have women of their community, who live separate from the men; they seldom see each other but at places of worship, and never have meetings of any kind but for public business; their whole life

is spent in labor, prayer, and sleep; twice every day and night they are summoned from their cells to attend divine service; as to their religion, in some measure, it resembles the Quakers, for every individual, if he thinks himself inspired, has a right to preach. — The subjects they chiefly discourse upon are humility, temperance, charity, and other Christian virtues; never violating that day held sacred amongst all persuasions; they admit of a Hell and a Paradise, but deny the eternity of future punishments. As to the doctrine of original sin, they hold it as impious blasphemy, together with every tenet that is severe to man, deeming it injurious to divinity. — As they allow no merit to any but voluntary works, baptism is only administered to the adult; nevertheless, they think it so essentially necessary to salvation, as to imagine the souls of Christians are employed in the other world, in the conversion of those who have not died under the light of the Gospel.

Religion among the Dumplers, has the same effect philosophy had upon the Stoics, rendering them insensible to every kind of insult; they are more passive and disinterested than the Quakers, for they will suffer themselves to be cheated, robbed, and abused, without the least idea of retaliation, or even a complaint.

Their dress is very simple and plain, consisting of a long white gown, from whence hangs a hood to serve the purposes of a hat, a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches, something resem-

bling those the Turks wear. The men wear their beards to a great length, some I saw were down to the waist; at the first sight of them, I could not help comparing them to our ancient bards, the Druids, from their reverential appearance; the women are dressed similar to the men, excepting the breeches.

Their life is very abstemious, and eating no meats, not that they deem it unlawful, but more conformable to the spirit of Christianity, which they argue has an aversion to blood, and upon those grounds they subsist only on vegetables, and the produce of the earth.

They follow with great chearfulness their various branches of business, in some one of which, every individual partakes, and the produce of their labor is deposited in one common stock, to supply the necessities of every individual, and by this union of industry, they have not only established agriculture and manufactures, sufficient to support this little society, but superfluities for the purposes of exchange for European commodities.

Though the two sexes live separate, they do not renounce matrimony, but those who are disposed to it leave the city and settle in the country, on a tract of land which the Dumplers have purchased for that purpose, the couple are supported at the public expences, which they repay by the produce of their labor, and their children are sent to Germany for education. Without this wise policy, the Dumplers would be little better than Monks, and in process of time annihilated.

Although there are so many sects, and such a difference of religious opinions in this province, it is surprizing the harmony which subsists among them; they consider themselves as children of the same father, and live like brethren, because they have the liberty of thinking like men, to this pleasing harmony, in a great measure, is to be attributed the rapid and flourishing state of Pensylvania, above all the other provinces. Would to Heaven that harmony was equally as prevalant all over the globe; if it was, I think you'll acquiesce with me in opinion, that it would be for the general welfare of mankind.

An officer who is exchanged, and going to New-York, having sent for my letters, I must hastily conclude, assuring you, I am

Yours, &c.

LETTER LX

Lancaster, in Pensylvania,
Dec. 17, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN our way hither, we crossed the Skuylkill, over the bridge built by General Washington's army, when they were encamped at Valley-Forge. I imagine it was the intention of the Americans, that this bridge should remain as a triumphal memento, for in the center of every arch is engraved in the wood, the names of the principal Generals in their country; and in the middle arch was General Washington's, with the date of the year: this bridge was built to preserve a communication, and to favor a retreat, in case they were compelled to quit their encampment.

Our troops slept in the huts at Valley-Forge, which had been constructed by the Americans; and as we waited till late the next day for the delivery of provisions before we marched, I had a full opportunity to reconnoitre the whole camp: on the east and south side were entrenchments, with a ditch six feet wide and three deep, the mound not four feet high, very narrow, and easily to have been beat down with cannon; two redoubts were also begun, but not compleated, the Skuylkill was on the left, and as I before observed, with a bridge across; the rear was mostly covered by an impassable precipice

formed by Valley Creek, having only a narrow passage near the Skuylkill: this camp was by no means difficult of access, for the right was attainable, and in one part of the front the ascent was scarcely to be perceived, the defences were exceedingly weak, and this is the only instance I ever saw of the Americans having such slight works, these being such as a six-pounder could easily have battered down; the ditches were not more than three feet deep, and so narrow, that a drum-boy might with ease leap over.

A Loyalist, at whose house I was quartered, at Valley Forge, and who resided there at the time Washington's army was encamped, told me, that when General Washington chose that spot for his Winter quarters, his men were obliged to build them huts with round logs, fill the interstices with clay, and cover them with loose straw and dirt, very uncomfortable, as the shelter was not secure from the weather, where the men suffered exceedingly from the inclemency of the season, the camp disorder raged among them, the greater part of them were in a manner naked at that severe season of the year; many without shoes and stockings, and very few, except the Virginia troops, with the necessary cloathing: his army was wasting away by sickness, that raged with extreme mortality in all his different hospitals, which are no less than eleven, and without the essential medicines to relieve them; his army was likewise diminished by constant desertions in companies, from ten to fifty at

a time, that at one period, it was reduced to four thousand men, and those with propriety could not be called effective. The horses from being constantly exposed to showers of rain and falls of snow, both day and night, were in such a condition, that many of them died, and the rest were so emaciated, as to be unfit for labor, had he been attacked and repulsed, he must have left behind all his artillery, for want of horses to convey it; in addition to all these distresses, Washington had not in his camp, at any one time, a week's provision for man and horse, and sometimes he was totally destitute.

The Loyalists greatly censure General Howe, in suffering Washington to continue in this weak and dangerous state from December till May, and equally astonished what could be the motive he did not attack, surround, or take by siege, the whole army, when the severity of the weather was gone — they expected that in the months of March, April, and May, they should hear of the camp being stormed or besieged. Certainly the situation of it favored either, for on the left was the Skuylkill that was impassable, but over the bridge, on the rear, lay Valley Creek, with the precipice and narrow pass; on the right, and in the front, it could be approached on equal terms; by posting two thousand men on a commanding ground, near the bridge on the North side of the Skuylkill, it would have rendered the escape of the enemy on the left impossible. Two thousand posted on a like ground op-

posite the narrow pass, effectually prevented a retreat by the rear, and five or six thousand men placed on the right and in the front of his camp, would have deprived them of flight on those sides; the positions were such, that if any corps were attacked, they could instantly have been supported; under all these favorable circumstances, success was to be little doubted; but it should seem that General Howe was exactly in the same situation as General Burgoyne, respecting intelligence, obtaining none he could place a perfect reliance on. In fact, the Americans have a most decided superiority over us in this war in that respect, our post and situations, nay, even secret marches, with their intentions, are made known to General Washington by the innumerable spies and secret enemies who come into our camp and lines, under the specious character of Loyalists; it is quite the reverse with him, every man who enters his camp is known to some one or other, as his army is composed of troops from every province.

The Loyalists in Pensylvania generally accuse General Howe with ungrateful conduct, in abandoning Philadelphia, after all the assistance they had given him, and not having, during the Winter, endeavored to dislodge General Washington at Valley Forge, suffering the enemy to harrass and distress the loyal inhabitants on every side of the British lines, destroying their mills, seizing their grain, horses and cattle, imprisoning, whipping, branding and killing the unhappy people, devoted

to the cause of their Sovereign, who, at every risque, were daily supplying the army, navy, and Loyal inhabitants within the lines, with every necessary, and luxury the country afforded.

Indeed, the Loyalists of Pensylvania are greatly to be pitied, for they have been much persecuted since our troops evacuated Philadelphia, their loyalty is greatly abated, as they conceive themselves made a sacrifice of by the conduct of General Howe; and are so exceeding incensed, and violent against him, they do not hesitate to say, that in ease and comfort, in the city of Philadelphia, he cared little for military fame or glory; that he neglected his duty to his King and country, that he neglected the interest and safety of the country he was sent to protect, and that his whole conduct was founded on private interest and ambition; you shall not know my sentiments 'till we meet.

At a poor farm house I was quartered at, the night before we came into this town, I was much surprized when it grew dark, to see the landlady bring in a couple of green wax-candles, which at first we really took them to be; but lo! they were made from the berries of a tree, which is called the tallow shrub, as they produce a kind of wax or tallow; this plant grows in England, and known by the name of the candleberry tree. The method of making the fat from these berries, is by gathering them late in the Autumn, then they are put into a pot of boiling water; of course the fat melts out, and floats on the surface, which is skimmed off, and this proc-

ess is continued, 'till there is no fat left, when congealed, it has a green dirty color, but after refined, becomes perfectly transparent; with this they manufacture their candles; they were formerly much used, but before the war, they could procure tallow in great abundance, and therefore used it in preference, as the time for gathering the berries and preparing them, scarcely repays the trouble. Now the poor inhabitants are obliged to have recourse to them, as no tallow is imported, and all the cattle is taken for the supply of the army. There are many qualities appertaining to the candles made from their berries; they do not easily bend or melt in Summer, as common candles, they burn better and slower, and when extinguished, do not smoak, but rather evaporate with an agreeable odour.

The town of Lancaster is the largest inland town in America, it contains at least ten thousand inhabitants, chiefly Germans and Irish, there are some few good houses, and exclusive of those, it appears neither handsome, nor agreeable; however the markets are plentifully supplied with all sorts of provision, and the cyder is very excellent, the nearest to English of any I met with in America.

Most of the houses before the door have an elevation, to which you ascend by steps from the street, resembling a small balcony with benches on both sides, where the inhabitants sit and enjoy the fresh air, and view the people passing; most of them have stoves similar to those of the Canadians.

This town, before the commencement of these

unhappy troubles, carried on a considerable trade with Philadelphia, and the frontier settlements; now it has scarcely sufficient to supply the inhabitants, and the neighbouring farms; it is really a distressing circumstance, to see such a populous, and no doubt, flourishing town, once a scene of bustling industry, now in a state of supineness, the shopkeepers lolling and smoaking at their doors, their shops which were overflowing with sorts of commodities, scarcely contain more than Shakespere's Apothecary's "a beggarly account of empty boxes," unless indeed, some French frippery, which the inhabitants will not purchase; the only little sign of trade that I could perceive, was among sadlers and gunsmiths, who were making materials for the Continental army: — This unhappy war has thrown the Americans into such a state, that it will be a century before they can recover from it.

The town of Lancaster has no building of any consequence, except the Lutheran church, which is only built of brick, the inside has a most magnificent appearance; the large galleries on each side, the spacious organ-loft, supported by Corinthian pillars, are exceedingly beautiful, and there are pillars of the Ionic order, from the galleries to the roof. The altar-piece is very elegantly ornamented; the whole of the church, as well as the organ, painted white with gilt decorations, which has a very neat appearance; it greatly reminded me of the chapel at Greenwich Hospital; the organ is reckoned the largest and best in America, it was built by a German,

who resides about seventeen miles from Lancaster, he made every individual part of it with his own hands; it was near seven years in compleating; the organ has not only every pipe and stop that is in most others, but it has many other pipes to swell the bass, which are of an amazing circumference, and these are played upon by the feet, there being a row of wooden keys that the performer treads on. I do not recollect ever seeing an organ of this construction, except those of the Savoy Chapel and St. Paul's; in the latter they are shut up as the vibration of sound was found too powerful for the dome; but then they had only four or five of these wooden keys, whereas this organ has a dozen: the man who shewed the instrument played on it, and the effect of these keys was astonishing, it absolutely made the very building shake. It is the largest, and I think the finest I ever saw, without exception; and when you examine it, you wonder it did not take up the man's whole life in constructing; to estimate its goodness and value, I shall only tell you it cost two thousand five hundred pounds sterling; to you who are so musical, what a treat would it be to be here a few hours only, unless indeed, you would think a few more not thrown away entirely, when allotted to

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXI

Frederick-Town, in Maryland,
Dec. 25th, 1778

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER we left Lancaster, we crossed the Susquehannah, which, though a large, broad, and beautiful river, is extremely dangerous, on account of the rapidity of the current, and innumerable small rocks that just make their appearance above the surface; in crossing it we were not without our fears, for a scowl, belonging to the second brigade, in which Lord Torphinchin, and a number of officers and soldiers of the twenty-first regiment was near being lost by striking on one of these rocks; this river falls into the Chesapeak and forms the head of that vast water, which, though one of the largest and most beautiful rivers in America, is the least useful, as it is not navigable above twelve or fifteen miles at the farthest, for ships of any burthen, and above that scarcely so for canoes; the utility of this river would be great, if the navigation, even for canoes was practicable, as the source of the east branch of this river is in the Mohawk country, and from thence to the mouth in the Chesapeak, is near seven hundred miles.

After we crossed the Susquehannah, we arrived at York-town, which was some time the seat of Congress; this is reckoned the second inland town

in America, it is not near so large as Lancaster, but much pleasanter, being situated on Codorow-creek, a pretty stream which falls into the Susquehannah; this town contains between two and three thousand inhabitants, chiefly Irish, intermixed with a few Germans; here was formerly more trade than in Lancaster, and notwithstanding the troubles, it has still more the appearance of it; as we came into the town at four o'clock in the afternoon, and marched the next morning, you may easily imagine I had but little time to make any very particular observations; but in walking about, I saw the Court-house and a few churches, which are very neat brick buildings, and I remarked the houses were much better built, and with more regularity than at Lancaster; of the two, though York is considerably less than the other, I should give it the preference for a place of residence.

As I observed in a former letter, it was with a view and hope that the men would desert, that the Congress marched us at this inclement season; numbers have answered their wishes, especially the Germans, who seeing in what a comfortable manner their countrymen live, left us in great numbers, as we marched through New-York, the Jerseys and Pensylvania; among the number of deserters is my servant, who, as we left Lancaster, ran from me with my horse, portmanteau, and every thing he could take with him. I did not miss him till night, as I concluded he was with the baggage waggons; the next morning I obtained permission from the

officer that escorted us, to return back in pursuit of him, as I had reasons to suppose he was going back to New-England; in the afternoon, on the other side of Lancaster, I met the first brigade of the Germans, who were marching into the town. Being acquainted with Colonel Mingen, who commanded, he enquired if I had orders for him, but telling him the purport of my return, he informed me that he had met my servant that morning, just as they were going to march; he enquired of him how I did, and the reason of his returning, when the fellow said "I was very well, and that I desired "my compliments to him, if he should meet him, "and that he was returning for a pair of saddle-"bags that he left behind on the road." After this I thought any pursuit in vain, therefore returned back to the regiment, who, by this time, had arrived in this town.

We have been greatly perplexed in our march through the different provinces, by the dollars being of such various value; in some it is only six shillings, in others seven, seven and sixpence, and eight shillings. The provinces entertain little opinion as to the value of their neighbours' money, as it will not pass in the next province; the New-York money will not pass in the Jerseys, nor that of the Jerseys in Pensylvania, and so on. The Congress money is taken throughout the whole of them, but there are some provinces which deem their own money of more real value than that of Congress, and take it in preference, not that they dare

refuse the other, as it would be deemed high treason.

Till our arrival at this place, we have had the most delightful weather imaginable, but yesterday morning there came on a most violent snow storm, and which lasted the whole day; it was as severe as any I ever saw in Canada; the snow is up to one's knees, which has rendered the Potowmack so dangerous, that we are waiting here till it either freezes over, or becomes passable, the first brigade are fortunate, for by this time, they are arrived at Charlottesville.

Frederick Town is a fine large town, and has a very noble appearance, as the houses are mostly formed of brick and stone, there being very few timber buildings in it; it contains near two thousand inhabitants, chiefly Germans, quite inland, the nearest port being George Town, which is fifty miles distant, the only river, which is the Potowmack, is eight miles from the town.

About four miles before you enter it, you cross the Monoccacy Creek, which, without a guide to shew the ford, a stranger must inevitably be carried down the stream; this ford is in the form of a crescent, and made with large loose stones, that a horse is in continual danger of falling; the water, in general, is up to the skirts of the saddle, and after the least fall of rain, it is impassable for some hours; there is a ferry-boat, but it is so badly attended, and in such a shattered state, that you are afraid to venture in it.

I am quartered at the house of a Mr. M'Murdo, who is the Commissary of Provisions in this town, and, although strongly attached to the cause of the Americans, possesses very philanthropic ideas, his treatment and polite behaviour to the officers quartered at his house, truly mark the gentleman and man of the world. — His attention is such, that although for this day, which is as much a day of festival as in England, he has been engaged for some time past among his friends and relations, he would stay at home, and entertain us with an excellent Christmas dinner, not even forgetting plumb-pudding. If the Americans in general possessed such liberal sentiments, it would prevent the many horrid barbarities and persecutions which arise in consequence of this unnatural war, and which have branded the name of America with an odium, that no time can obliterate, no merit expunge.

I now experience what has been often told me, that the further I went to the southward, I should find the inhabitants possess more liberality and hospitality. I remain

Your's, &c.

LETTER LXII

Jones's Plantation, near Charlottesville, in Virginia, Jan. 20, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER we left Frederick Town, we crossed the Potowmack River with imminent danger, as the current was very rapid, large floats of ice swimming down it, though the river was only half a mile wide, the scowl that I crossed over in had several narrow escapes; at one time it was quite fastened in the ice, but by great exertions of the men in breaking it, we made good our landing on the opposite shore, near a mile lower than the Ferry.

The difficulty of crossing was only a fore-runner of the hardships and fatigues we were to experience on our entering Virginia; for on our march to this place, the men experienced such distresses, as were severe in the extreme; the roads were exceedingly bad from the late fall of snow, which was encrusted, but not sufficiently to bear the weight of a man, so we were continually sinking us up to our knees, and cutting our shins and ancles, and, perhaps, after a march of sixteen or eighteen miles in this manner, at night the privates had to sleep in woods; after their arrival at the place of destination, the officers had to ride five or six miles to find a hovel to rest in.

But on our arrival at Charlottesville, no pen can describe the scene of misery and confusion that en-

sued; the officers of the first and second brigade were in the town, and our arrival added to their distress; this famous place we had heard so much of, consisted only of a Court-house, one tavern, and about a dozen houses; all of which were crowded with officers, those of our brigade therefore, were obliged to ride about the country, and entreat the inhabitants to take us in.

As to the men, the situation was truly horrible, after the hard shifts they had experienced in their march from the Potowmack, they were, instead of comfortable barracks, conducted into a wood, where a few log huts were just begun to be built, the most part not covered over, and all of them full of snow; these the men were obliged to clear out, and cover over to secure themselves from the inclemency of the weather as quick as they could, and in the course of two or three days rendered them a habitable, but by no means a comfortable retirement; what added greatly to the distresses of the men, was the want of provisions, as none had as yet arrived for the troops, and for six days they subsisted on the meal of Indian corn made into cakes. The person who had the management of every thing, informed us that we were not expected till Spring.

Never was a country so destitute of every comfort, provisions were not to be purchased for ten days; the officers subsisted upon salt pork, and Indian corn made into cakes, not a drop of any kind of spirit, what little there had been, was already

consumed by the first and second brigade; many officers, to comfort themselves, put red pepper into water, to drink by way of cordial.

Upon a representation of our situation, by Brigadier General Hamilton, to Colonel Bland, who commanded the American troops, he promised to render the situation of the men as comfortable as possible, and with all expedition. As to the officers, upon signing a parole, they might go to Richmond and other adjacent towns, to procure themselves quarters, accordingly a parole was signed, which allowed a circuit of near one hundred miles. And after the officers had drawn lots, as three were to remain in the barracks with the men, or at Charlottesville, the principal part of them set off for Richmond, many of them are at plantations, twenty or thirty miles from the barracks. I am quartered with Major Master and four other officers of our regiment, at this plantation, about twenty miles from the barracks; the owner has given up his house, and gone to reside at his overseer's, and for the use of his house, we pay him two guineas a week.

On the arrival of the troops at Charlottesville, the officers, what with vexation, and to keep out the cold, drank rather freely of an abominable liquor, called peach brandy, which, if drank to excess, the fumes raise an absolute delirium, and in their cups, several were guilty of deeds that would admit of no apology, the inhabitants must have actually thought us mad, for in the course of three or four

days, there were no less than six or seven duels fought.

Colonel Bland, who commands the American troops, was formerly a physician, at a place called Petersburg, on the James River, but on the commencement of the war, as being some way related to Bland, who wrote a military treatise, he felt a martial spirit arise in him, therefore quitted the Æsculapian art, and at his own expence raised a regiment of light horse. As to those troops of his regiment with Washington's army, I cannot say any thing, but the two that the Colonel has with him here, for the purposes of expresses and attendance, are the most curious figures you ever saw; some, like Prince Prettyman, with one boot, others less fortunate, without any; some hoseless, with their feet peeping out of their shoes; others with breeches that put decency to the blush; some in short jackets, some in long coats, but all have fine dragoon caps, and long swords slung round them, some with holsters, some without, but gadamercy pistols, for they have not a brace and a half among them, but they are tolerably well mounted, and that is the only thing you can advance in their favor; the Colonel is so fond of his Dragoons, that he reviews and manœuvres them every morning, and whenever he rides out, has two with drawn swords before, and two behind; it is really laughable to see him thus attended with his ragged regiment, which looks, to borrow Shakespeare's idea, as if the gibbets had been robbed to make it up — then the

Colonel himself, notwithstanding his martial spirit, has all the grave deportment, as if he was going to a consultation.

The house that we reside in is situated upon an eminence, commanding a prospect of near thirty miles around it, and the face of the country appears an immense forest, interspersed with various plantations, four or five miles distant from each other; on these there is a dwelling-house in the center, with kitchens, smoke-house, and out-houses detached, and from the various buildings, each plantation has the appearance of a small village; at some little distance from the houses, are peach and apple orchards, &c. and scattered over the plantations are the negroes huts and tobacco-houses, which are large built of wood, for the cure of that article.

The houses are most of them built of wood, the roof being covered with shingles, and not always lathed and plastered within, only those of the better sort that are finished in that manner, and painted on the outside; the chimneys are often of brick, but the generality of them are wood, coated in the inside with clay; the windows of the better sort are glazed, the rest have only wooden shutters.

The fences and enclosures in this province are different from the others, for those to the northward are made either of stone or rails let into posts, about a foot asunder; here they are composed of what is termed *fence rails*, which are made out of trees cut or sawed into lengths of about twelve feet,

that are mauld or split into rails from four to six inches diameter.

When they form an inclosure, these rails are laid so, that they cross each other obliquely at each end, and are laid zig zag to the amount of ten or eleven rails in height, then stakes are put against each corner, double across, with the lower ends drove a little into the ground, and above these stakes is placed a rail of double the size of the others, which is termed the rider, which, in a manner, locks up the whole, and keeps the fence firm and steady.

These enclosures are generally seven or eight feet high, they are not very strong but convenient, as they can be removed to any other place, where they may be more necessary; from a mode of constructing these enclosures in a zig zag form, the New-Englanders have a saying, when a man is in liquor, *he is making Virginia fences.*

Their manner of clearing the land is, by cutting a circle round the tree through the bark quite to the wood, before the sap rises, which kills it; they then clear the small brush-wood and cultivate the ground, leaving the trees to rot standing, which happens in a very few years; and after receiving the circular wound, they never more bear leaves; a large field in this state has a very singular, striking, and dreadful appearance, it should seem dangerous to walk in them, for the trees are of a prodigious magnitude and height, from which are impending in awful ruins vast limbs, and branches of an enormous size, which are continually breaking off, and

frequently whole trees are falling to the ground with a most horrible crash, the sound of which is greatly encreased and protracted by the surrounding echoes: yet I am informed, notwithstanding the danger, few accidents happen from them, except to cattle.

Upon our informing the Commissary of Provisions where we were quartered, he gave us an order upon a Colonel Cole, who resides about four miles distant, to supply us, he being appointed to collect for the use of the Congress in this district, who, upon application, sent us about a month's provision of flour and salt pork for ourselves and servants. As the cart with the provisions came through the plantation, I was much surprized to see all the cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs following it, nor could the driver keep them off, till he came to the house. I found this was to lick the barrels which contained the salt meat.

The inhabitants throughout America, whose habitations are at any great distance from the sea or salt-water, give their cattle and horses salt once or twice a week, with which they are satisfied, but here they were so distracted after it, as to lick the earth where there has been any pot liquor in which salt meat has been boiled, till they have licked up all the saline particles, and if a horse that has been rode hard, and in a sweat, is turned out with others, they each instantly surround and lick him.

Nature seems to have prompted these animals by

instinct, as if sensible these saline particles were absolutely necessary to correct the acidity arising from a superabundant accumulation in the stomach of the vegetable juices; the inhabitants therefore not only give them salt as medicinal, and to promote their encrease of flesh, but to render them gentle and tame, and to allure them to visit their plantations; otherwise, as they are not deficient in provender in Winter, they would run wild and roam beyond the reach of their owners, in these immense woods; yet notwithstanding this precaution, great numbers do run at large entirely wild, and have no proprietors, but those on whose lands they are found.

Most persons who are in possession of any considerable plantation, have what is called a right in the woods, by which they are entitled to a certain proportion of the ewe cattle that run wild, which they can dispose of, or transfer as affixed property; there is no other criterion to ascertain them but by branding, or putting some mark on them; each person differs in this, and they are recorded in the county court, such property is further secured by an act of the assembly, which made it felony, to alter or deface the marks.

Most of the planters consign the care of their plantations and negroes to an overseer, even the man whose house we rent, has his overseer, though he could with ease superintend it himself; but if they possess a few negroes, they think it beneath their dignity, added to which, they are so abom-

inably lazy. I'll give you a sketch of this man's general way of living.

He rises about eight o'clock, drinks what he calls a julep, which is a large glass of rum, sweetened with sugar, and then walks, or more generally rides round his plantation, views his stock, inspects his crops, and returns about ten o'clock to breakfast on cold meat, or ham, fried hommony, toast and cyder; tea and coffee is seldom tasted, but by the women. He then saunters about the house, sometimes amusing himself with the little negroes who are playing round the door, or else scraping on a fiddle; about twelve or one he drinks toddy, to create him an appetite for his dinner, which he sits down to at two o'clock; after he has dined, he generally lays down on the bed, and rises about five, then perhaps sips some tea with his wife, but commonly drinks toddy 'till bed time; during all this he is neither drunk nor sober, but in a state of stupefaction; this is his usual mode of living, which he seldom varies, and only quits his plantation to attend the Court-House on court days, or to some horse race or cock fight; at which times he gets so egregiously drunk, that his wife sends a couple of negroes to conduct him safe home.

Thus the whole management of the plantation is left to the overseer, who as an encouragement to make the most of the crops, has a certain portion as his wages, but not having any interest in the negroes, any further than their labour, he drives and whips them about, and works them beyond their

strength, and sometimes till they expire; he feels no loss in their death, he knows the plantation must be supplied, and his humanity is estimated by his interest, which rises always above freezing point.

It is the poor negroes who alone work hard, and I am sorry to say, fare hard. Incredible is the fatigue which the poor wretches undergo, and that nature should be able to support it; there certainly must be something in their constitutions, as well as their color, different from us, that enables them to endure it.

They are called up at day break, and seldom allowed to swallow a mouthful of homminy, or hoe cake, but are drawn out into the field immediately, where they continue at hard labour, without intermission, till noon, when they go to their dinners, and are seldom allowed an hour for that purpose; their meals consist of homminy and salt, and if their master is a man of humanity, touched by the finer feelings of love and sensibility, he allows them twice a week a little fat skimmed milk, rusty bacon, or salt herring, to relish this miserable and scanty fare. The man at this plantation, in lieu of these, grants his negroes an acre of ground, and all Saturday afternoon to raise grain and poultry for themselves. After they have dined, they return to labor in the field, until dusk in the evening; here one naturally imagines the daily labor of these poor creatures was over, not so, they repair to the tobacco houses, where each has a task of stripping allotted

which takes them up some hours, or else they have such a quantity of Indian corn to husk, and if they neglect it, are tied up in the morning, and receive a number of lashes from those unfeeling monsters, the overseers, whose masters suffer them to exercise their brutal authority without constraint. Thus by their night task, it is late in the evening before these poor creatures return to their second scanty meal, and the time taken up at it encroaches upon their hours of sleep, which for refreshment of food and sleep together can never be reckoned to exceed eight.

When they lay themselves down to rest, their comforts are equally miserable and limited, for they sleep on a bench, or on the ground, with an old scanty blanket, which serves them at once for bed and covering, their cloathing is not less wretched, consisting of a shirt and trowsers of coarse, thin, hard, hempen stuff, in the Summer, with an addition of a very coarse woollen jacket, breeches and shoes in Winter. But since the war, their masters, for they cannot get the cloathing as usual, suffer them to go in rags, and many in a state of nudity.

The female slaves share labor and repose just in the same manner, except a few who are term'd house negroes, and are employed in household drudgery.

These poor creatures are all submission to injuries and insults, and are obliged to be passive, nor dare they resist or defend themselves if attacked, without the smallest provocation, by a white per-

son, as the law directs the negroe's arm to be cut off who raises it against a white person, should it be only in defence against wanton barbarity and outrage.

Notwithstanding this humiliating state and rigid treatment to which this wretched race are subject, they are devoid of care, and appear jovial, contented and happy. It is a fortunate circumstance that they possess, and are blessed with such an easy satisfied disposition, otherwise they must inevitably sink under such a complication of misery and wretchedness; what is singularly remarkable, they always carry out a piece of fire, and kindle one near their work, let the weather be ever so hot and sultry.

As I have several times mentioned hominy and hoe-cake, it may not be amiss to explain them: the former is made of Indian corn, which is coarsely broke, and boiled with a few French beans, till it is almost a pulp. Hoe-cake is Indian corn ground into meal, kneaded into a dough, and baked before a fire, but as the negroes bake theirs on the hoes that they work with, they have the appellation of hoe-cakes. These are in common use among the inhabitants, I cannot say they are palateable, for as to flavor, one made of sawdust would be equally good, and not unlike it in appearance, but they are certainly a very strong and hearty food.

Having given you a pretty good sketch of these back-settlers, in my next I shall be able to afford you some account of the country, and the lives and

manners of the people in the lower parts of this province, for in a few days I am going to Richmond to purchase some liquors and necessaries, to render our situation a little comfortable, in this dreary region of woods and wretchedness. I remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXIII

Richmond, in Virginia,
Feb. 12, 1779

My dear friend,

A FEW days after my last letter, with your friend Johnson of our regiment, I set off for this place, and an uncomfortable journey we had, as the season was unfavorable, and rendered travelling very dangerous, on account of the snow then on the ground, and the continued falls of sleet, till our arrival at this place.

The country is so much covered with woods, that you travel a long time without seeing an habitation, (the first we met with, was near eighteen miles from Charlottesville) you can scarcely conceive the difficulty in finding the proper roads, as they are hardly to be guessed at by those who have often used to travel in America; when one is bad, they make another in a different direction, added to which, the planters, *sans ceremonie* turn a road to suit their own convenience, and render it more commodious to their plantation, if perchance you meet an inhabitant and enquire your way, his directions are, if possible, more perplexing than the roads themselves, for he tells you to keep the right hand path, then you'll come to an old field, you are to cross that, and then you'll come to the fence of such a ones plantation, then keep that

fence, and you'll come to a road that has three forks, (which is their manner of describing the partings in the roads) keep the right hand fork for about half a mile, and then you'll come to a creek, after you cross that creek, you must turn to the left, and then you'll come to a tobacco house; after you have passed that, you'll come to another road that forks, keep the right hand fork, and then you'll come to Mr. such a ones ordinary, and he will direct you. Thus you see it requires the most retentive memory to be able to proceed at all, if unaccustomed to the roads.

We adopted a singular mode, which proved fortunate. One day after travelling a straight road for near fifteen miles at the least, as we calculated by our watches, during the whole way, we neither met or overtook a living creature, and were greatly at a loss, as totally uncertain of being in the right road. Our perplexities greatly increased by the roads dividing; unacquainted with the country, or in what direction the place we wished to reach, lay. We continued for a length of time undetermined which road to take, at last my companion proposed we should toss up a dollar, and if heads, to take the right hand, if tails, the left; it chanced to come up heads, and we took the right hand road accordingly, when after travelling about four miles, we came to the ordinary where we baited, the landlord of which informed us that had we taken the other road, we should have gone near sixteen miles further without seeing an house.

Having several times mentioned an ordinary, it may not be amiss to acquaint you, that out of the principal towns, all taverns and public houses are, in Virginia, called ordinaries, and 'faith not improperly in general; they consist of a little house placed in a solitary situation, in the middle of the woods, and the usual mode of describing the roads, is from such an ordinary to such a one, so many miles; the entertainment you meet with is very poor indeed, seldom able to procure any other fare than eggs and bacon, with Indian hoe cake, and at many of them not even that; the only liquors are peach brandy and whiskey. For this miserable fare they are not remiss in making pretty exorbitant charges; but I am not surprized that accommodation for travellers is so bad, as I am informed, before the war, the hospitality of the country was such, that travellers always stopt at a plantation when they wanted to refresh themselves and their horses, where they always met with the most courteous treatment, and were supplied with every thing gratuitously; and if any neighbouring planters heard of any gentleman being at one of these ordinaries, they would send a negroe with an invitation to their own house.

On our journey to this place we overtook a flock of wild turkeys; a couple of spaniels we had with us pursued them, and it is incredible how swift they run, as neither of us, though we galloped our horses, could overtake them, although they run near two hundred yards before they took flight; they appeared considerably larger than ours, and I am told,

sometimes weigh thirty or forty pounds each. Just before we came to Goochland Court house, we saw the manner by which the inhabitants catch them; they make a log fence of about twelve feet square, securing the top with heavy logs, but before they cover it over dig a passage from the center, to the outside of the fence, which is covered over so as to admit light, and round about the entrance, and through this passage they strew Indian corn, as well as a quantity for them to feed on when in the trap, the birds seeing the corn in the inside, keep walking round to gather it, till they meet that which is laid to conduct them into the passage, which having consumed, they keep eating on till they get into the trap, and these foolish birds, when they wish to get out, instead of returning the way they came in, keep continually flying up, by which means one or two out of the flock, in the morning are found dead, and they frequently catch a flock of ten or a dozen at a time in this manner.

At Westham, about seven miles, the falls of James River commence, which continue to about half a mile below this place, where the tide comes up. The grand staple commodity of this province is tobacco, carried down the river from the back settlements to Westham, upon canoes lashed together, and then it is brought by land carriage to this place, as the falls prevent any communication by water, through the distance of seven miles; and during the course of that part of the river, the water rushes down in vast torrents, raging with great

impetuosity, and dashing from rock to rock with a most tremendous noise, which may be heard for many miles.

At this place the land suddenly rises into hills of a great height, abounding with prodigious rocks, large stones and trees; and as the summit of many of these hills hang over the falling torrent of James river, they command most romantic prospects.

A little below Richmond, the tide flows up to the rocks of the fall, and there James River is half a mile wide, at which place there are ferry-boats.

At the foot of the falls there are three towns; Richmond, which is the largest, separated by a creek named Shoekoes, from the town of Shoekoes, that joins it; these are on the North side of the river, and on the South side stands Chesterfield, but from its situation, more generally known by the name of Rocks Bridge; small sloops come up to the falls, and two miles lower, large ships come up to load.

I am informed, above the falls, the river, after heavy rains, swells to a great height, and overflows all the low ground for several miles; and at the falls, where the river is confined by the mountains that abruptly arise on each side, the noise, force, and impetuosity of the torrent, are most dreadfully tremendous and awful.

Many gentlemen around Richmond, though strongly attached to the American cause, have shewn the liberality and hospitality so peculiar to this province, in their particular attention and

civilities to our officers, who are quartered here, and in the adjacent country; among those who are most distinguished in this line, are Colonel Randolph, of Tuckahoe; Colonel Good, of Chesterfield; Colonel Cary, of Warwick, &c. &c. The illiberal part of their countrymen charge them with being partial to Great-Britain, but these are gentlemen of fixed principles, of affluence and authority, and therefore despise all popular clamour.

There happened the most remarkable phenomenon a few nights ago, that we imagined might be peculiar to this climate, but at which we found the inhabitants exceedingly alarmed and terrified; it was a most terrible storm of thunder and lightning; the day had been as piercingly keen and penetrating as any we had felt this Winter, and in the evening the storm came on; the eruscations and flashes of lightning incessantly followed each other in quick and rapid transitions, and the thunder was a constant succession of loud contending peals; this storm lasted near two hours; at its commencement, the air felt warm, which encreased so fast, that at one time it was intensely hot; but as the storm decreased, so the heat left us, and the next morning was a sharp frost.

As I was walking with some officers, I was shewn a gentleman of the town, a Mr. Fauchée, a surgeon and apothecary, who had the misfortune to have one of his eyes gouged out, it was happily in time replaced, and there were hopes that he would recover the use of it. I shall relate the way the acci-

dent happened, to shew the ferociousness of the lower class in this country; this gentleman was at play in the billiard-room, where there were a number of gentlemen, and several of our officers: a low fellow, who pretends to gentility came in, and in the course of play, some words arose, in which he first wantonly abused, and afterward would insist on fighting Mr. Fauchée, desiring at the same time, to know upon what terms he would fight, as the lower sort have various modes; Mr. Fauchée declined any, saying, that he was totally ignorant as to boxing, but the other calling himself a gentleman, he would meet him in a gentleman-like manner; he had scarcely uttered these words, before the other flew at him, and in an instant turned his eye out of the socket, and while it hung upon his cheek, the fellow was barbarous enough to endeavor to pluck it entirely out, but was prevented. You can easily imagine what the officers who were present, must have felt, as spectators of such a scene, who were obliged to suffer such a wretch to go off with impunity, their hands being restrained, by their parole, from any interference.

This most barbarous custom, which a savage would blush at being accused of, is peculiar to the lower class of people in this province; at one time it was so prevalent, that the Governor and Assembly were obliged to pass a law which made it criminal, and that law is now in force, but the rabble are such a lawless set, especially those in the back woods, that they are little restrained by any laws the State

can pass, and in the back settlement, this savage custom prevails. — I have seen a fellow, reckoned a great adept in gouging, who constantly kept the nails of both his thumbs and second fingers very long and pointed; nay, to prevent their breaking or splitting, in the execution of his diabolical intentions, he hardened them every evening in a candle.

It is an universal opinion, that death is preferable to loss of sight, and as every occasion of quarrelling with the officers is greedily sought after, we seldom go out without our side arms. What pity it is, that a country where the superior class are of such an hospitable and friendly disposition, should be rendered almost unsafe to live in by the barbarity of the people. That I was but out of it, and once more in Old England, is the constant prayer of

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXIV

Richmond, in Virginia,
Feb. 18th, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE been detained at this place beyond my original intention by the hospitality of the neighbouring gentlemen, who would not let me leave them without visiting the whole circle; among the number was Colonel Carey, who resides at Warwick, where he has a most superb house, near which are some curious mills and iron-works, whose building cost some thousands of pounds; they have not only been of great emolument to himself, but very beneficial to the public. His house is situated on the border of James River, and on the opposite shore is another of a Major Randolph; it may not be unnecessary to observe, that the Randolphs are descended from one of the first settlers in this province of that name, and are so numerous, that they are obliged, like the clans of Scotland, to be distinguished by their places of residence.

Petersburgh being but a few miles from Colonel Carey's, and several of us, one evening, expressing a desire to see that town, but lamenting it was out of our parole. He, the next morning after breakfast, said, "Come, gentlemen, we'll mount our horses, "and take a ride before dinner, to Petersburgh,"

we expressed how happy it would make us to accompany him, but were restrained by our parole, when he replied, "not so, gentlemen," and produced a letter from the American Commanding Officer, granting us permission; this little circumstance I mention, to shew that his hospitality is accompanied with true politeness and attention.

The town of Petersburgh is situated on the borders of the Apamatock River, and on the opposite shore are a few houses, which is a kind of suburb, independant of Petersburgh, called Pocahunta — the principal trade of Petersburg arises from the exporting of tobacco, deposited in warehouses and magazines, but before it is lodged in these warehouses, it is examined, to confirm it in a proper state for exportation by inspectors, who prove the quality of the tobacco; and if found good, they give the planter a receipt for such a quantity, and these receipts pass current as cash: Thus any one depositing tobacco in these warehouses, and obtaining a receipt, may go to Williamsburg, or any other city in the province, and purchase any kind of commodities, paying with receipts, which circulate through a multitude of hands before they come to the merchant who purchases the tobacco for exportation; thus this valuable commodity is equally Bank stock, and current coin; and the inhabitants, in describing the prices of their different purchases, instead of saying "I gave so many pounds for "such an article;" "I gave so many hogsheads of "tobacco."

The Apamatocks River is nearly as wide as the Thames, and runs into the James River, about twelve miles from the falls, which are a little above Petersburgh, and just below the falls, there is a large wooden bridge, at the town of Pocahunta, up to which sloops, schooners, and small vessels continually sail.

The town of Pocahunta is named after the daughter of a famous Indian Chief, or Emperor Powhatan (which is the Indian name of the James River) who gave all the land round this place to his daughter as a marriage portion.

At Petersburgh resides a Mrs. Bowling, who has considerable warehouses, besides a very extensive plantation and estates, whose son has married a very agreeable young lady, lineally descended from Pocahunta. After Colonel Carey had given us the brief history of Pocahunta, relating to her friendship for the English, in their first settlement in this province, and her marrying an Englishman, with whom she went to Europe, he related the following anecdote of a great man of her own nation, that she had in her suite, when she left Virginia:

"This man had orders from Powhatan to count "the people of England, and give him an account of "their numbers. As the Indians have no letters or "figures among them, he, at his going ashore, pro- "vided a stick, in which he was to make a notch for "every person he saw; but he, as you may suppose, "soon grew weary, and threw away his stick: Upon "his return, the King asked him how many people

"there were?" "*He desired him to count the stars in*
"*the sky, the leaves upon the trees, and the sand on the*
"*sea shore, for so many people he said were in Eng-*
"*land.*" At this conclusion, Colonel Carey archly remarked, "Don't you think you cou'd make that "reply to your King, if he asked you how many "people you saw in America?"

The tobacco warehouses at Petersburg, as well as at Richmond, are crowded with that commodity, as they cannot find purchasers, and the planters will not export it themselves, on account of our numerous privateers; some few merchants have ventured small sloops to the Bermuda islands, and have been successful; it is only these who have any commodities in their stores, the rest being shut up; and I cannot help making the same reflection, at seeing such towns as Petersburgh and Richmond in the same state as that of Lancaster, all trade being at a stand in these places, where no doubt, before the war, it must have been very considerable, these two towns having formerly supplied the back settlers with all manner of stores for their plantations. Except in the principal cities, such as Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, the towns have not various branches of manufactures, such as linen-drapers, mercers, grocers, hosiers, haberdashers, stationers, &c. but are all comprized under the name of merchant and store-keeper; and what are called shops in England, are here denominated stores, which furnish every article in life, not only necessary but ornamental, and even jewellery; exclusive of the

great stores in the capital towns, there are smaller ones scattered all over the country.

I spent a few days at Colonel Randolph's, at Tuckahoe, at whose house the usual hospitality of the country prevailed; it is built on a rising ground, having a most beautiful and commanding prospect of James River; on one side is Tuckahoe, which being the Indian name of that creek, he named his plantation Tuckahoe after it; his house seems to be built solely to answer the purposes of hospitality, which being constructed in a different manner than in most other countries; I shall describe it to you: It is in the form of an H, and has the appearance of two houses, joined by a large saloon; each wing has two stories, and four large rooms on a floor; in one the family reside, and the other is reserved solely for visitors: the saloon that unites them, is of a considerable magnitude, and on each side are doors; the ceiling is lofty, and to these they principally retire in the Summer, being but little incommoded by the sun, and by the doors of each of the houses, and those of the saloon being open, there is a constant circulation of air; they are furnished with four sophas, two on each side, besides chairs, and in the center there is generally a chandelier; these saloons answer the two purposes of a cool retreat from the scorching and sultry heat of the climate, and of an occasional ball-room. The outhouses are detached at some distance, that the house may be open to the air on all sides.

Colonel Randolph possesses that fondness for

horses, which I observed was peculiar to the Virginians of all stations, sparing no trouble, pains, or expence, in importing the best stock, and improving the breed; and it was with no little pleasure he shewed us a fine one, named Shakespeare, which he imported just as the war commenced. There was a stable built purposely for this horse, in which was a recess for a bed for the negroe who looked after it, that he might be with it at night. This horse is of a handsome dappled grey, about sixteen hands and a half high, with a most beautiful head and neck; as to any other points about him, it is impossible to tell, for the creature was so amazingly pampered and fat, and being of the race breed, his legs were so small and slim, that they appeared unable to support the weight of his body, exactly like the horses one sees painted in old pictures; the best idea you can possibly form of his size, is by telling you, that from his withers to his tail, there was such a groove of fat, that you might pour water upon his withers, and it would run in a straight line down his tail; the horse is obliged to be kept in high condition, to enable him to receive the numerous visitors attending on him in the Spring.

In the course of a few days I shall return to Charlottesville, at which I am by no means displeased, for notwithstanding the hospitality and great attention shewn me, I do not feel myself *comme il faut*, feeling that uneasy sensation, which the English in general possess, and which may be ridiculous perhaps, but it is constitutional, arising

from a consciousness of its being out of my power to make a return for the civilities shewn me. I cannot but in justice say, that in all the gentlemens houses I have visited, they never started, or would suffer any conversation on politics; sometimes, when alone with the ladies, they would indulge and rally us a little, at our being prisoners, but all with great good humour; the only unpleasant circumstance of the kind that I recollect was at Tuckahoe, where an officer suffered his vexation to overcome that gratitude he was bound to shew for the hospitality he met with.

Colonel Randolph every year made a present of two hogsheads of tobacco to his daughter as a venture, to purchase dresses and ornaments, and the ships had always been so unfortunate as to be captured. As several officers were sitting with the ladies, the conversation ran upon politics, when Miss Randolph innocently asked, "How we came to be "taken prisoners?" the officer with some warmth replied, "Just as your tobacco was, by a superior "force." I need not tell you the distress and confusion of the young lady, as well as of the officer himself, who immediately became conscious of what he had said, and for his ill-timed violence, he forfeited all claim to the hospitality of Tuckahoe.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXV

Jones's Plantation, near Charlottesville, in Virginia, April 10, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND,

DURING my journey to Richmond, General Phillips and General Riedesel arrived at Charlottesville, and the day after their arrival, went to the barracks; they were greatly incensed at the treatment the army met with, at present the soldiers are more comfortably lodged, but had General Phillips seen them in the state they were in on the first arrival of the troops, I think his warmth of temper and regard for them, would have laid him under the same restriction as at Boston. The men have been exceedingly ill supplied with provisions in general, having meat only twice or thrice a week, and for some weeks none, what they get is scarcely wholesome, this is at present what the poor fellows term a fast, they not having any meat served them since the twenty-fifth of last month. General Phillips has greatly exerted himself since his arrival, and there are hopes that in future, the troops will be more regularly supplied.

Congress certainly are to be acquitted of all this bad management, as they have been misguided and duped by one of their own members, a Colonel Harvey, who is a delegate for this Province.

When they passed the resolve to detain us prisoners, contrary to the articles of convention, the state of Massachusets deemed it oppressive, that

it should be obliged to support our army, as they had cheerfully supplied their own troops with more in quota than the other Provinces, and that as they had already supplied our army for near a twelvemonth, it would be but equitable for the southern Provinces to partake of the burthen; they accordingly instructed their delegates to apply to Congress for that purpose. When the motion was made, the petition of the State of Massachusets appeared founded upon equity, and it was then considered to what Province we should be removed to, the Jerseys and New-York Provinces were improper, as being the seat of war, as to Pensylvania, that Province had been so ravaged by the two armies, that they deemed it incapable of furnishing provision to supply their own with the quota allotted them. As to Maryland, it was so small a Province, it did not admit of any consideration, and Virginia was deemed the Province best calculated, from its extensiveness, as well as its fertility; and that by stationing the army in the back settlements, it removed all fears of any attempts of a rescue, by a part of the army from New York.

When Virginia was fixed upon, this Colonel Harvey proposed to Congress, to remove the convention army to a tract of land that belonged to him about six miles from Charlottesville, about four from the blue mountains, and near two hundred miles from the sea coast, that if Congress approved of that situation, he would engage to build barracks and lay in provisions by the ensuing Spring. This

proposal meeting with approbation, was passed into a resolve about the latter end of last June.

Colonel Harvey immediately resorted to Virginia, and set all his negroes and a number of the inhabitants to build these barracks, and to collect provisions; after having planned every thing, he left the completion of it to the management of his brother, and returned to Congress. His brother not possessing so much activity and not being, perhaps, so much interested in the business, did not pay proper attention to it, which was the cause why the barracks were not finished, and affairs being in such a state of confusion on our arrival. When Colonel Harvey left Virginia, he fully imagined that every necessary comfort and supply of provisions would be ready for the reception of the troops, at Christmas; being fully sensible that the log-huts would be erected long before that time, and as to provisions, he had left such directions as, if obeyed, could not fail; it is just to observe, that Congress consulted Colonel Harvey previous to their passing their resolves, and sending their orders of our removal out of the Massachusets State.

The house and plantation where General Phillips resides is called *Blenheim*; the house was erected shortly after that memorable battle in Germany, by a Mr. Carter, who was Secretary to the colony, and was his favorite seat of residence: It stands on a lofty eminence, commanding a very extensive prospect, and is built after the manner of that I have described to you in my last. The present pro-

prietor, Colonel Carter, possesses a most affluent fortune, and has a variety of seats, in situations far surpassing this of Blenheim, which he suffers to go to ruin; and when General Phillips took it, this charming mansion was crouded with negroes, sent from various other plantations, to clear a spot of ground a few miles off: The tract of land Colonel Carter possesses in this province is immense, and his stock of negroes the most numerous, he being possessed of one thousand five hundred on his different plantations.

The first night after our leaving Richmond, I slept at an elegant villa, called Belvidera, which formerly belonged to a Colonel Bird, who distinguished himself greatly in the last war, in that sad disaster of General Braddock's. He possessed a most affluent fortune, and was proprietor of all the lands round the falls for many miles, as well as the greatest part of the lands round the town of Richmond. His great abilities and personal accomplishments, were universally esteemed, but being infatuated with play, his affairs, at his death, were in a deranged state. The widow whom he left with eight children, has, by prudent management, preserved out of the wreck of his princely fortune, a beautiful house, at a place called Westover, upon James River, some personal property, a few plantations, and a number of slaves. The grounds around the house at Westover, are laid out in a most beautiful manner and with great taste, and from the river appear delightful.

From my observations and remarks in my late journey, it appeared to me, that before the war, the spirit of equality or levelling principle was not so prevalent in Virginia, as in the other provinces; and that the different classes of people in the former supported a greater distinction than those of the latter; but since the war, that principle seems to have gained great ground in Virginia; an instance of it I saw at Colonel Randolph's, at Tuckahoe, where three country peasants, who came upon business, entered the room where the Colonel and his company were sitting, took themselves chairs, drew near the fire, began spitting, pulling off their country boots all over mud, and then opened their business, which was simply about some continental flour to be ground at the Colonel's mill: When they were gone, some one observed what great liberties they took; he replied, it was unavoidable, the spirit of independency was converted into equality, and every one who bore arms, esteemed himself upon a footing with his neighbour, and concluded with saying, "No doubt, each of these men conceives "himself, in every respect, my equal."

There were, and still are, three degrees of ranks among the inhabitants, exclusive of negroes; but I am afraid the advantage of distinction will never exist again in this country, in the same manner it did before the commencement of hostilities.

The first class consists of gentlemen of the best families and fortunes, which are more respectable and numerous here, than in any other province; for

the most part they have had liberal educations, possess a thorough knowledge of the world, with great ease and freedom in their manners and conversation, many of them keep their carriages, have handsome services of plate, and without exception, keep their studs, as well as sets of handsome carriage horses.

The second class consists of such a strange mixture of characters, and of such various descriptions of occupations, being nearly half the inhabitants, that it is difficult to ascertain their exact criterion and leading feature. They are however, hospitable, generous, and friendly; but for want of a proper knowledge of the world, and a good education, as well as from their continual intercourse with their slaves, over whom they are accustomed to tyrannize, with all their good qualities, they are rude, ferocious, and haughty, much attached to gaming and dissipation, particularly horse-racing and cock-fighting; in short, they form a most unaccountable combination of qualities and principles directly opposite and contradictory, many of them having them strangely blended with the best and worst of principles, the most valuable and most worthless, many possessing elegant accomplishments and savage brutality, and notwithstanding all this inconsistency of character, numbers are valuable members of the community, and very few deficient in intellectual faculties.

The third class, which, in general, composes the greatest part of mankind, are fewer in Virginia, in

proportion to the inhabitants, than perhaps in any other country in the world; yet even those who are rude, illiberal, and noisy, with a turbulent disposition, are generous, kind, and hospitable. We are induced to imagine there is something peculiar in the climate of Virginia, that should render all classes of so hospitable a disposition.

The lower people possess that impertinent curiosity, so very disagreeable and troublesome to strangers, but in no degree equal to the inhabitants of New-England, they are averse to labor, much addicted to liquor, and when intoxicated, extremely savage and revengeful; nay, at such times, revenge insults of long date, even after they have been amicably adjusted; for the insult arising in their minds, and the new friendship totally forgotten, they seek their object with keen attention, and satiate their passion with savage barbarity.

Their amusements are the same with those of the middling sort, with the addition of boxing matches, in which they display such barbarity, as fully marks their innate ferocious disposition. An English boxing match, though a disgrace to a polished nation, is humanity itself, compared with the Virginian mode of fighting; for, previous to the combatants falling too, they enter into an agreement, whether all advantages are allowable, which are biting, gouging, and (if I may so term it) Abelarding each other. If these three preliminaries are agreed upon, they instantly fall to, and, after some little struggling, seize upon their adversaries with their

teeth. What is very remarkable, and shews what coolness there must be in these disputes, and that they are not wholly the effect of anger is, that whatever terms are specified, if only one or two out of the three conditions, let the conflict be ever so severe, they never infringe on any other.

Vegetables not being over abundant in these back woods at any time, and there being a great deficiency of them in the Spring of year, we adopt the custom of the inhabitants who gather the leaves of the poke-plant, just as they shoot above ground and are tender and soft; it is no bad substitute for spinnage, and greatly resembles it in flavor, yet great care must be taken in gathering of it, that it is neither too old, nor the stalk grown, for in that case, if in breaking off the upper sprouts, you leave any part that is woody, the consequence of eating it is inevitable death, as it purges the body to excess. Notwithstanding this plant has this pernicious quality, the children eat the berries of it in the Autumn, without any ill consequence attending it. The juice of the berries produces a most beautiful crimson color, the finest in the world, but no method has yet been found to fix it, as cloths and woollens dyed with it fade very soon. Many persons of great ingenuity and chymical knowledge have endeavored, at fixing of this color, which is sought after with as much eagerness as the philosopher's stone, and no doubt would be equally as beneficial, if attained.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXVI

Jones's Plantation near Charlottesville, in Virginia, May 12, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND,

A FEW days ago the flag of truce, with cloathing for the army arrived at Richmond, and among the great number of letters delivered out, I had a great mortification, as well as disappointment, not to receive a single one, surely my friends must imagine, at such a distance in these endless woods, that it is next to an impossibility a letter can reach me; it certainly would afford me great pleasure to hear that they were alive and well. As to the rest, I would dispense with. I write continually from time to time; nevertheless, from the uncertainty of conveyance, the same accusation may hold good against me.

Your old friend Clark, of Boston, who is our Commissary of Provisions, lately arrived from New-York, I spent a few days with him at his quarters; exclusive of the great fund of information and amusement, which I derived from a number of English news-papers and magazines he brought with him, I was informed of the transactions that happen upon this continent, among the rest, with a full account of the retreat of our army from Philadelphia to New-York.

You may recollect, in a former letter, I men-

tioned, that a good retreat was looked on as the *chef d'œuvre* of a commander, and in this retreat, I think Sir Henry Clinton has clearly evinced it, and demonstrated, that he is equally as judicious and able as he is brave, in surmounting the innumerable difficulties and dangers he had to encounter: His way lay entirely through an enemy's country, universally hostile, and where he could expect no assistance; therefore, previous to his setting out on this dangerous retreat, he took the precaution of providing for all exigencies, and a large quantity of provisions was a necessary, though not a small incumbrance, as well as the baggage of the army which accompanied it, forming a line of march of near twelve miles in extent; especially when it is considered this army had to pass through a country intersected with hills, woods, rivers, defiles, and difficult passes; from these causes, the march of the army being slow, afforded the Americans time to assemble, which they readily did to harrass it, and in a short time Washington had collected a sufficient force to render its movements extremely dangerous.

When Sir Henry Clinton observed the Americans were meditating an attack, he naturally concluded it was with a view to cut off the baggage and rear of the army, which, from its extent, he was fearful might be easily accomplished. He told Clark to inform General Phillips, among other descriptions of the battle, that the day before he sat upon a stone for near an hour viewing the baggage as it passed

along, and debating in his own mind, whether he should not give instant orders to destroy it. At length, as he concluded it would be a matter of great exultation with the Americans, and a disgrace to the British army, he determined to preserve it at all events; therefore, on the day of the action at Monmouth, he sent forward the baggage, early in the morning, under the care of General Knyphausen, in order that it might proceed without molestation.

The various movements, and positions of both armies in that engagement, and the issue of it, as you must have seen it in Sir Henry Clinton's official account, I shall pass it over, only giving you this opinion of that battle, which he sent by Clark to General Phillips — after having given a particular description of it, Sir Henry Clinton drew some rough sketches of the various grounds and positions taken during the action. At length, recollecting himself, he said, "Clark, you must not take "these, for if the Americans find them on you, "they'll certainly hang you; therefore, only tell "General Phillips, *that on that day I fought upon* "*velvet*, he will fully understand me."

A very singular circumstance took place in that battle, which fully marks the coolness and deliberation, though in the heat of action, of Sir Henry Clinton: As he was reconnoitring, with two of his Aid de Camps, at the short turning of two roads, they met with an American officer, exceedingly well mounted upon a black horse, who, upon discerning

them, made a stop, and looked as if he wished to advance to speak to them, when one of Sir Henry Clinton's Aid de Camps fired a pistol at him, and he instantly rode off. Sir Henry was much displeased at his Aid de Camp, and censured him for being so hasty, adding, he was confident that the man wished to speak to him, and perhaps, might have given intelligence that would have been very essential, remarking, that when he was in Germany last war, and reconnoitring with Prince Ferdinand, a man rode up in a similar manner, and gave such intelligence as decided the fate of the day.

The weather becomes very unpleasant, being for the most part of the day intensely hot; notwithstanding, the poor negroes are exposed to the heat all day long, hoeing tobacco, even at noon, when the rays of the sun are scorching; yet, with all this heat, they scarcely perspire; there certainly must be some natural endowments, through which these poor creatures are able to withstand this excessive heat; it cannot be their color, for we well know that black attracts the rays of the sun more than any other, and therefore imagine it must proceed from the oily substance continually oozing out of the pores; for I remarked, even in the coldest weather, their skins always appear glossy, and certain it is, they are considerably smoother than ours, which must proceed from the causes I have assigned. I observed, from the negro to the mulatto, and they have their various tinges; they all perspired in proportion, the further they remove from

the black, and white people considerably more than any.

Having mentioned that there are mulattoes of various tinges, it may not be amiss to inform you from whence it arises, and no doubt, but you will be surprized, when I tell you it is by the planters having intercourse with their negroes, the issue of which being a mulatto, and having a connection with that shade becomes lighter; as an instance, I remarked at Colonel Cole's, of whom I have made mention; there were mulattoes of all tinges, from the first remove, to one almost white; there were some of them young women, who were really beautiful, being extremely well made, and with pretty delicate features; all of which I was informed, were the Colonel's own. I could not help reflecting, that if a man had an intercourse with his slaves, it was shameful in the extreme, to make his own offspring so; for these mulattoes work equally the same as those who come from Africa: To be sure, you may say, it is a pleasant method to procure slaves at a cheap rate. I imagine there could not be less than twenty or thirty mulattoes of this description, at Colonel Coles's, notwithstanding he has a very agreeable and beautiful wife, by whom he has had eight children.

You know as to the principal employment of the poor negroes, I shall now give you a description of the method to cultivate and cure the grand staple commodity of this province, tobacco.

This plant is a native of America, and of very

ancient use, though it was neither so generally cultivated, nor so well manufactured, as it has since the province has been settled with Europeans; for the Indians made use of it, by gathering the leaves as it grew spontaneously: The plant, at its proper height, is nearly as tall as a middle sized man, the stalk is strait, hairy, and exceeding clammy; the leaves grow alternately of a faded yellowish green, and towards the lower part of the plant of great magnitude.

The seeds of tobacco are first sown in beds, from whence they are transplanted the first rainy weather into a ground disposed into little hillocks, something similar to our hop gardens; in about a month's time from their transplanting, they grow about a foot high, they then top them and prune off the suckers and lower leaves, and then, with the greatest attention, are cleaned twice a week from weeds and worms, by which you will perceive what immense labor there must be on a large plantation, where they grow nothing but tobacco. In about six weeks after being topped and pruned, the plant attains its full growth, and then begins to turn brownish, and these marks are the criterion by which they judge the tobacco to be ripe.

The plants are thus cut down as fast as they ripen and are heaped up; and as much as is gathered in a day lies in this state a night to sweat; the next day it is carried to the tobacco-house, which is so constructed, as to admit of as much air as is requisite, and at the same time keeping out the rain;

the plants are then hung separately to dry for four or five weeks, and the first moist weather after, they are taken down, for unless the plants were damped, they would crumble to dust, they are then laid upon sticks, and covered up close to sweat for a week or two longer; then the negroes strip and sort them, the top being the best, and the bottom the worst tobacco; they then put the leaves into hogsheads, or form them into rolls; wet seasons must be carefully laid hold on for this last process, otherwise the tobacco will not be sufficiently pliable. The cultivation of this plant may appear extremely simple, but it is impossible to describe to you the immense labor, care and fatigue there is attending it, from the first setting the seeds to the packing it in hogsheads, and the great anxiety the person who superintends it has, for through the whole process it requires the utmost skill and judgment.

Travelling in this country is extremely dangerous, especially if it is the least windy, from the number of rotten pines continually blowing down; after a storm, it is no uncommon thing to turn into the woods six or seven times in the space of a mile, to pass the trees that have been blown into and choak up the road; even in calm weather it is not altogether safe, for there are old rotten pines, divested of all their branches, which totter with the least breeze. An accident happened a few days since, by the falling of one of these trees, in which Madame de Riedesel, with two of her children, had a very narrow escape: as she was going to the bar-

racks in her post-chaise, when the carriage had passed a wooden bridge (which are of themselves very terrific, being only so many rough logs laid across beams, without any safe-guard on each side) an old rotten pine fell directly between the horses and the chaise, but providentially did no other damage, than crushing the two fore-wheels to pieces and laming one of the horses.

Not being overstocked with fresh provisions, I accompanied several other officers to the woods, to procure a few rabbits; if the dogs once get scent of them they are soon taken, for they do not burrow as ours do in England, but run up hollow trees, which they will climb to a considerable height, but from which place of refuge they are taken by putting up a hickory sapling, split at the end and twisted in their skins. As we were employed in catching these rabbits, the dogs kept an incessant barking at the branch of a tree, and when we came up to them, we found an opossum, suspended at the extremity of the branch by its tail, which this creature always does when pursued; we sent a servant up the tree, who shook him off, and he fell among the dogs, from whom he did not make the least attempt to escape, but appeared as if dead. It was taken and carried home, all which time it shewed no other signs of life than gently breathing; it was put in a court-yard, where it could not escape, and we watched it for near half an hour, during which it never moved, but lay as dead; at last, it gently raised its head, looking all around, and not

perceiving any danger, immediately ran off. We opened the door and let out the dogs, who pursuing it, the creature lay down as before, without shewing any signs of life, nor would they meddle with it, but were returning back; we went out and set the dogs at it, and notwithstanding two spirited spaniels worried and shook, nay, even snapped its very bones, which we could distinctly hear, the creature never shewed any symptoms of life. After the dogs had worried it, and broke almost every bone in its body, which, perhaps you will say, did not reflect much credit to our humanity, a heavy stone was dropt on its head, to end its tortures; and even then, at parting with life, it scarcely struggled; but this mode of feigning death, is what preserves this creature from the mountain cat, and other carniverous animals.

A few days ago, I went with several officers to see a diversion peculiar to this country, termed quarter-racing, which is a match between two horses, to run a quarter of a mile in a straight direction, and near most of the ordinaries, there is a piece of ground cleared in the woods for that purpose, where there are two paths about six or eight yards asunder, which the horses run in, this diversion is a great favorite of the middling and lower classes, and they have a breed of horses to perform it with astonishing velocity, beating every other for that distance with the greatest ease. I think I can, without the least exaggeration, assert, that even the famous Eclipse could not excel them in

speed, for our horses are some time before they are able to get into full speed, and these are trained to set out in that manner the moment of starting. It is the most ridiculous amusement imagineable, for if you happen to be looking another way, the race is terminated before you can turn your head; notwithstanding which, very considerable sums are betted at these matches. We stayed and saw several, and then returned, as we were given to understand, that after the races were finished, the day was concluded with several of those horrid boxing-matches I described to you in my last, and that two or three daring fellows had said they would seek a quarrel with the British officers; therefore we left these buck-skins to fight by themselves, a-propos, it may not be amiss to explain this epithet which was given to the Virginians, by the New Englanders, (in retaliation for their calling them Yankees) in allusion to their ancestors, being hunters, and selling buck, or rather deer-skins, for there are no roe-bucks in Virginia.

These races are only among the settlers in the interior parts of this Province, for they are much laughed at and ridiculed by the people in the lower parts, about Richmond and other great towns; at Williamsburg, is a very excellent course for two, three, or four mile heats, where there are races every Spring and Fall; they run for purses, which are generally raised by subscription, and the horse that wins two four-mile heats, out of three, is entitled to the prize, which is one hundred

pounds the first day's running, and fifty pounds every other day, and these races commonly last a week; at which very capital horses are started, that would make no contemptable figure at Newmarket.

There are two sorts of insects extremely troublesome, which are the wood-tick, and the seed-tick; the former are about the size, and greatly resemble a bug, resorting mostly upon trees and rushes, from which, if they fall upon you, they fix their proboscis into the pores of the skin, and suck the blood till they are of an enormous size, and then drop off; they are exceedingly troublesome to the cattle; the latter derive their name from not being much larger than small seed; these are chiefly upon the long grass, and if they get on you, being so small, they enter the pores of the skin, which occasion a violent irritation, and if rubbed, is attended with very dangerous consequences, as it inevitably brings on an inflammation, and sometimes a mortification; the only mode of preventing any of these consequences, is to fumigate the parts affected with tobacco, which penetrating the pores, destroys the insects.

There is a shrub peculiar to this province, that bears a small flower, which the inhabitants term the bubby flower, it resembles that which grows on clover grass, and has peculiar qualities, for it retains its grateful and odoriferous perfume for a length of time after being gathered, and as it withers, encreases; the name given to the flower arises from a custom that the women have of putting this

flower down their bosoms, letting it remain there till it has lost all its grateful perfume.

Having some business with Colonel Bland, of whom I made mention in a former letter, I went to his house just as he had mounted horse, but he, with the politeness which, but in justice to him, I must say, he shews to the British officers, dismounted, and invited me in, and after communicating my business, upon my taking leave of him, notwithstanding his politeness and attention, I could not help smiling at the pomposity, and the great importance he assumes, to make himself appear to us consequential; for to convince us that he was conversant with the French language, having mounted his horse without his sword, he called to a negro, he had purchased from one of the French West-Indian islands, to bring it him, which the fellow did without the scabbard; when the Colonel, in great anger, said to him, *Donney moi, donney moi*, and after great hesitation, *donney moi mon scabbard.*

We have been of late greatly perplexed with the paper money, not only by that issued from Congress, but that issued by these States, they both having been counterfeited; the former, though not altogether, is in part refused in consequence of it, and the latter is entirely stopt, and new impressions are issued, which the Governor and Assembly conceive will not easily be counterfeited, as it is made upon paper difficult to be obtained in these parts, nor have they arrived to such perfection of making paper as to manufacture it; indeed, throughout

America they are greatly deficient in this art, as most of their news-papers are printed upon blue, or else coarse white paper, similar to that used by shopkeepers, but the paper of this new emission, is the silver paper used by hatters, great quantities of which were found in a vessel that was captured, and was seized on by the Governor for this purpose: exclusive of the great losses that we constantly experience with paper money in general, we have suffered much by this new emission, as likewise by the great depreciation of the Congress money, as the exchange at present is after the rate of five hundred paper dollars for one guinea.

The depreciation of Congress money arises from the vast quantity of the counterfeit, which any person who hazards the risk, may have gratis, at New-York, to circulate throughout the province, and to point out to you what confusion there must be at the conclusion of this unhappy contest, on whichever side it may terminate, when I inform you, that there are many persons now in actual possession of plantations, which they purchased with the counterfeit money they brought from New-York. As I have repeatedly mentioned in several of my letters, various circumstances concerning paper money, and thinking they may not be unacceptable, I have enclosed a few dollars in this letter.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXVII

Richmond, in Virginia,
July 14, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU will naturally conclude, at receiving another letter from this place, that the kind reception I met with when last here, induced me to pay a second visit; but however pleasant such a journey would be, my present one is not only very disagreeable to myself, but has proved extremely so to others; my business being to communicate General Phillips's orders, that none of the officers are to reside at a greater distance from the barracks than twenty miles.

On my way to this place I stopt and slept at Tuckahoe, where I met with Colonel Mead, Colonel Laurens, and another officer of General Washington's suite. — More than once did I express a wish the General himself had been of the party, to have seen and conversed with a character, of whom, in all my travels through the various provinces, I never heard any one speak disrespectfully, as an individual, and whose public character has been the admiration and astonishment of all Europe.

The conversation, in general, turning upon horses, Colonel Mead was prizing his as being remarkably high spirited, which prevented its falling

into the hands of a party of our light dragoons, as his negro, who had the care of it, was looking after forage, who was surprized, pursued, and nearly surrounded by the party, in a field, enclosed with a prodigious fence, near nine feet high; the poor negro, fearful of himself, and dreading his master's displeasure, in case he lost the horse, run him at the fence, which he leaped over, and rode off into the woods, to the astonishment of the dragoons; the Colonel attributed the safety of his person to the swiftness of this horse at the battle of Monmouth, having been fired at and pursued by some British officers as he was reconnoitring. Upon the Colonel's mentioning this circumstance, it occurred to me, he must have been the person that Sir Henry Clinton's Aid de Camp had fired at; and requesting to know the particular color of his horse, he informed me it was black, which convinced me it was him; when I related the circumstance of his meeting Sir Henry Clinton, he replied, he recollected in the course of that day, to have met several British officers, and one of them wore a star. Upon my mentioning the observation Sir Henry Clinton had made to his Aid de Camp, the Colonel laughed, and replied, "Had he known it had been the Com-"mander in Chief, he should have made a desper-"ate effort to have taken him prisoner."

At Goochland Court-house, I was informed in what a spirited manner Colonel Randolph had resented the illiberality of some of his neighbours, who had insinuated and threatened to set fire to some

valuable mills, on account of his hospitality to the British officers: At the next court day, after he had heard of this report, he in a very animated speech stated, that no one had a right to scrutinize into his private concerns, that his public character was well known, and that no one could with more zeal and perseverence support the cause of the Americans than he had done, and concluded with offering a reward of five hundred pounds for the discovery of those who had made use of those threats. Since this transaction, the Colonel has paid more attention to the officers, acting truly consistent with the principles of independence, and to shame his countrymen for their want of liberality.

I was detained near two days in my journey to this place, on account of the overflowing of the river, at what is termed the Point of Forks, where James River divides, and was rather surprized at this sudden rising of the water, as it had not rained for several days, but on enquiry found, that any fall of rain, unless extremely violent, never encreased the water till some time after, during which it collects from the mountains, and rushes in amazing torrents; the waters were so encreased, that they had overflowed the banks of the river for many miles, and as it comes down with great impetuosity from the mountains, it washes away the earth, which being of a red cast, appears like a torrent of blood. Since the waters have abated, there has been caught a great number of sturgeons and rock-fish, at the falls of this place: Indeed fish is at

this season in great plenty, especially eels, which are of a great size, and caught in weirs; numbers of which are upon James River, above the falls, and indeed upon most of the rivers and creeks; these weirs are constructed of stones laid across the river of the usual height of the current, and brought to a point in the center, where is placed a wicker basket, or a wooden box, in which they catch great quantities of fish.

I think nothing more fully evinces the real distresses of the inhabitants in general, throughout America, and how great the spirit of persecution and oppression reigns throughout all the provinces, as the amazing emigrations to a new settlement, at a place called Kentucky, where the soil is extremely fruitful, and where there are abundance of buffaloes, the country around, for a great number of miles, is an extensive plain, with very few trees growing on it. New discoveries are continually making, as to the vast extent of the continent of America, and in some future day it may be learnt, what the boundaries are to the westward. This new settlement is near a thousand miles from this place, nevertheless, those travelling to it, though to so great a distance, and perhaps have left comfortable houses and plantations, which have been the labor of their whole lives to clear and bring to perfection, appear chearful and happy, pleased with the idea, that they will be free from the tyranny and oppression of the Congress, and its upstart dependants. Their mode of travelling greatly

resembles that of the patriarchs of old, for they take with them their horses, oxen, sheep, and other cattle; as likewise all kinds of poultry. On my journey to this place, I saw a family setting off for this new settlement, leaving behind them a neat habitation, which appeared surrounded with every requisite to make it at once the mansion of content and happiness. As to the manner of quitting it, that favorite poet, Dr. Goldsmith, has most charmingly described it in the following lines:

"Good Heavens! What sorrows gloom'd that parting day,
"That called them from their native walks away;
"When the poor exiles, every pleasure past,
"Hung round the bowers and fondly looked their last."

Nor can I more forcibly describe the family's setting out on their journey, than he has done — where he says,

"The good old sire, the first prepared to go
"To new-found worlds, and wept for other's woe;
"But for himself in conscious virtue brave,
"He only wish'd for worlds beyond the grave;
"His lovely daughter, lovelier in her tears,
"The fond companion of his helpless years;
"Silent went next, neglectful of her charms,
"And left a lover's for a father's arms;
"With tender plaints, the mother spoke her woes,
"And blest the cot where ev'ry pleasure rose;
"And kist her thoughtless babes with many a tear,
"And clasp them close in sorrow doubly dear,
"Whilst her fond husband strove to lend relief,
"In all the silent manliness of grief."

The heat of the weather is at present very intense, and renders travelling unpleasant, especially

on horse-back, the rays of the sun are so very powerful in the middle of the day, that neither yourself nor your horse are able to withstand it, and you can only travel in the mornings and evenings. The inhabitants jog on in a vehicle called a sulky, a kind of one horse chaise, but constructed just large enough to contain one person; they say these are not so fatiguing to the horse as a person's riding on its back. In travelling on horse-back, you must either walk or gallop your horse, as the motion of trotting is too fatiguing for yourself and the beast.

At every plantation you pass by, the peach trees present their fruit, to allay the parching thirst the heat occasions; and it is deemed no trespass to stop and refresh yourself and your horse with them; if the owner of the plantation perceives you gathering, he will come and direct you to the tree that bears the best fruit, for the peaches of this country are of various sorts; and though they are in such abundance, that they feed the hogs with them, yet there are very few except in gentleman's gardens, which have that flavor and juice of those that grow in England.

Having seen the process of making peach brandy, I no longer am surprized at this spirit having such pernicious effects when drank to excess, and how unwholesome it must be taken in ever so small quantities; for after gathering the fruit, it is put in large vats, where it remains till it is in such a state of putrefaction, as to be extremely offensive to approach it, in this state the peaches are pressed

and the liquor that comes from them is distilled; from whence the custom arose to let the peaches be in such a putrified state, I never could learn; for upon asking several of the inhabitants if they bruised the peaches as soon as gathered, and pressed the liquor from them, whether the flavor and strength of spirit would not be superior, the only answer I could obtain was, that they believed it might, but the other was the usual mode.

The town of Richmond, as well as the plantations around for some miles, has been in imminent danger, as the woods have been on fire, which for some time past has raged with great fury, and that element seemed to threaten universal destruction; but providentially, before it had done any material damage, there fell a very heavy rain, which nevertheless, has not altogether extinguished it, as it is daily breaking out in places, but not so violent but it can be easily prevented from spreading.

During the Summer months, these fires are very frequent, and at Charlottesville I have seen the mountains on a blaze for three or four miles in length, they are occasioned by the carelessness of waggoners, who, when night approaches, after they have unharnessed the horses, fed them, pannelled them, and tying a bell round their necks, turned them loose in the woods to graze, make a large fire to warm them when they sleep, which on pursuing their journey the next morning, they neglect to extinguish, this communicating to the dry leaves which lay on the ground, spreads rapidly

and causes these dreadful and dangerous conflagrations.

To-morrow I leave this place, to return to Charlottesville, when I shall embrace the next favorable opportunity to write, this I send by the flag of truce that is returning to New-York, and in hopes it may safely reach you, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXVIII

Jones's Plantation, near Charlottesville, in Virginia, Aug. 4, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND,

ON my return from Richmond, I witnessed the mode that renders the Virginian riflemen so expert in the use of arms — as great numbers were assembled, shooting at marks, and which I understand, long before the commencement of the war, was the constant diversion in this country; so certain are they of hitting, that they are not fearful of holding the board at arm's length; nay, some are so little apprehensive of danger, that they will place it between their legs for another to fire at.

There is an insect, termed the fire-fly, which in itself is a great curiosity, being really a perfect phosphorus: for a considerable portion of its life, most of the interior parts of its body being at times luminous, and from whence it emits rays of light for a great part of the night, by means of two glandular spots, that are placed between the head and shoulders; nevertheless, though these luminous rays issue naturally from the insect, while awake it seems to possess power of interrupting them at will, and then these spots are opake; though, as I observed most of the internal parts of these insects emit a light, yet the thickness of its cover prevents it appearing through any other place but those

constituted by nature for the purpose; yet, on extending the rings that cover the different parts of the body a little asunder, you may observe the same light to issue.

By the light of one of these insects, if held between the fingers, and moved gradually with the luminous spots over the chrystal of a watch, you can with ease tell the hour; and ten or twelve of them put into a clear phial, will give sufficient light to read or write by very distinctly.

These insects make their appearance in the evening, and are to be seen for a considerable part of the night; they are extremely unpleasant to travellers at a late hour, being at times so numerous, as to perfectly dazzle the eye, and by their obscure intervals and sudden glare, the sight is diverted from every object of danger that at night presents itself; an instance of which lately happened, that had near been fatal to an officer, who, lost in the bye paths in the woods, by the reason of these insects, did not perceive a tree that was not entirely blown down, but rested on another, against which he came with such violence as to be stunned, and on regaining his senses, found that in falling from his horse, he had broke one of his legs, and he remained in that state till the next morning, when he was found by a negro, who conducted him home.

You may recollect, in a former letter, I mentioned what a lawless set the lower class were, and of their ferocious disposition; an instance has recently occurred, wherein the most wanton cruelties

were intended to be put in execution against an officer of the artillery, who, in the most miraculous manner, made his escape from these brutal savages, as they were conducting him to the place where they intended to perpetrate their horrid purpose.

The officer was quartered at the plantation of one Watson, a wretch who is reckoned an adept in gouging, and who prepares his nails for that purpose. He has an agreeable, but by no means a pretty woman, for his wife, and on account of the common civilities in supplying the officer with poultry, milk, &c. which he regularly paid for; this ignorant fellow pretended to be jealous, and communicating his sentiments to some neighbours of a similar disposition to his own, they concerted a scheme to be revenged of the officer.

Accordingly, a few days after, they broke into his chamber at the dead of night, but the noise awaking him, he had just time to seize his sword, with which he defended himself for some time, till it broke, when he was overpowered by his landlord and three other ruffians, who made him put on his cloaths, and after tying his hands behind him, led him into the yard, and placing him on his own horse, they set out with him armed with muskets, to proceed to another of these desperadoes, who resided about two miles distant, to consult on the mode of revenge — only conceive what must have been the situation of his mind when in their way to this neighbours house, these fellows were consulting whether they should cut his throat and secrete the

body, or castrate him and roll him down a steep rock.

Arriving at the plantation, they took him off the horse and conducted him into the house, the owner of which declined any concern in the transaction, and dissuaded the others from it, but they were steady to their bloody purposes; the ruffians then desired some peach brandy toddy, which they drank till intoxicated, all this time consulting what they should do with the officer. The villain Watson, who particularly supposed himself to be aggrieved, and was the first instigator of this base plot, occasionally presented his piece, and threatened immediate vengeance. At length the dawn of day appearing, the wretches as if conscious of their iniquitous proceeding, remarked it would soon be light, and resolving to put the last of their threats in execution, they quitted the house, mounting the officer on his horse, and proceeded to the spot where they were to perpetrate it, which was at the foot of a mountain, near a very steep precipice.

The situation of the officer was truly dreadful, for however resigned he might be to meet his fate, the manner of it was most lamentable; in the hands of American desperadoes, who are worse than savages, revengeful and drunk, alternately presenting their musquets and vowing instant death.

When they had proceeded with him near three miles, it was quite day light, they then judged it necessary to hasten their pace, fearful of meeting any one, and by now and then making the horse

trot, it loosened the cord with which the officer's hands were tied; perceiving this, and after some little struggle, finding he could release his hands, he very prudently waited an opportunity till he came to some road he was acquainted with. After they had proceeded about half a mile further, very near the place they were to conduct him to, he discerned a bye path which led to the barracks, instantly disengaged his hands, seized the bridle and speaking to his horse, which had been an old quarter-racer, it set off full speed. These wretches all discharged their pieces at him, but owing to the thickness of the wood and their intoxication, he escaped, and arrived safe at the barracks.

This matter was represented to the Governor of the province, by the General, at the same time describing the inhabitants, and their place of residence; the answer from the Governor was, that he was extremely concerned at it, but at present the civil power was of little use, the officers not daring to make use of their authority among these backwoods men, as it endangered their lives; and he had only to recommend the officer to be on his guard, and not quit the barracks, and that at night, for his personal safety, he had wrote to the Commanding Officer of the continental troops, to place a serjeant's guard at his house: yet, notwithstanding the wretches are acquainted with this circumstance, they have had the audacity to hover about the barracks, in order to seize him; but it having been intimated to them, that the American Commanding

Officer had orders to apprehend them, and send them down to the Governor at Williamsburgh, they have desisted in their attempts. I think there needs not a more convincing proof to shew the anarchy and confusion at present existing in America, and that all pretensions to civil government are ideal, I assure you, my dear friend, Congress, aided by the military, is the only ruling power at present; they are despotic, and their orders enforced by the military with as arbitrary a sway as that with which the King of Prussia governs his dominions.

The shrub which supplies our manufactures with cotton, is much cultivated in this Province, and the inhabitants of the lower sort, through the scarceness and difficulty of procuring clothing for themselves and their negroes, pay greater attention to it at present than tobacco, this plant is of a quick luxuriant growth, and rises from five to six feet in height, dispersing a number of branches as it shoots, it requires a dry soil, and thrives best in grounds already tilled, for though the plant flourishes more in fresh lands, yet from its luxuriance, it produces more wood than fruit, it is planted in regular walks, and at a moderate distance from each other, for the branches to spread, when it is grown to the height of five or six inches, the stems are pulled up except two or three of the stoutest, which are cropped twice before the end of August; this precaution is absolutely necessary, as the wood bears no fruit till after the second cropping; and if by neglect the plant is suffered to exceed four feet high in

its growth, the crop will be greatly inferior in quality and quantity, and the fruit difficult to gather.

The fruit that the cotton shrub bears, proceeds from a flower which blows at the extremity of its branches, the pistil of which turns to a shell of the size of a pigeon's egg, and when the cotton contained in it is ripe, it bursts and exposes the seeds wrapt up in the native flocks to the sun; when the greatest part of them are thus opened, the negroes gather them, and the seeds which are naturally mixed with the cotton are cleaned by means of a machine called a gen, which is made of two smooth rollers placed close and parallel to each other in a frame, and move in contrary directions by means of different wheels at the opposite side of the machine, which are put in motion by the foot, the cotton being put to these rollers, while they move round, it readily passes between them, leaving the seed which are too large for the interspace behind. What passes in this operation is afterwards hand picked to clear it from the small dirt that comes with the cotton through the machine, and then it becomes fit for use.

The carding and spinning of cotton is the chief employment of the female negroes, for since the inhabitants have been deprived of our English cottons, they manufacture a sort themselves, little inferior to that made at Manchester, and almost all the families in this Province, both male and female, are cloathed with their own manufacture, the su-

perior class as an example to their inferiors, who are compelled by necessity.

The weather being so extremely hot, woollen cloaths are insufferable, therefore from necessity, and as is the custom of the country, the officers wear cotton habiliments; the cotton of which mine is made I obtained from my landlord, and saw the whole process of its growth and manufacture, from the seed being sown, till it came out of the loom.

I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXIX

Jones's Plantation, near Charlottesville, in Virginia, Dec. 12, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND,

CONSIDERING the innumerable difficulties and inconveniences which the colonies have laboured under in maintaining their independency, and their successes appear astonishing, such as could only be effected by that unanimity which universally prevails among the leading and conspicuous characters in each state; and it is no less surprizing that in their strenuous support of public measures, the internal arrangement of their affairs should be neglected, and by such neglect hazard a general confusion. In this state, at present, their internal concerns, merchandizes of all kinds, and the common and necessary articles of life are at such enormous prices, that few can procure them, and for want of them all classes are highly distressed; Congress have adopted various measures to remedy these evils, but their endeavours have been frustrated by a few monopolizing wretches at Philadelphia and other great cities: to this is owing much of the public distress, which becomes a source of hindrance and discouragement in the prosecution of the various designs and undertakings of Congress.

But of all the arduous and trying situations they have had to encounter, none has proved more diffi-

cult than the present, which they are using their utmost endeavours to overcome, and if not effected, they must bid farewel to all hopes of gaining independency, and this is the depreciation of their paper money. From the first emission of bills at the commencement of the war to the present period, they have, by the necessity of the times, issued near forty millions sterling of continental dollars, and what contributes still more to the depreciation, is the immense sums of counterfeit money issued from New-York, and other places in our possession.

Therefore Congress wisely foreseeing the indispensible necessity of removing all doubts and distress, that the united states were unable to redeem their bills, and that raising more money by a new emission would encrease the paper in circulation, and be the cause of still more decreasing its value, have distributed throughout the colonies their resolve, in order to remove those apprehensions that were daily gaining ground, in which after stating the great depreciation of their currency, by the means of selfish men, who disregarded the great object they were then, and had for several years been struggling to obtain, and the enormous sums of counterfeit money their enemies had caused to be put in circulation with that of Congress, they had thought proper to declare, that after such a date, no currency should pass, but that issued from that time; and sensible that as many persons might lose considerable sums by reason of counterfeit money, whatever sums of any sort were brought

to the treasury at Philadelphia, they should receive one dollar of the new emission, for every forty dollars. And the more fully to establish the credit and value of the new currency, the Congress pledged their public faith, to pay its value in gold or silver specie.

This has had the desired effect of Congress, that of solely keeping up the spirits of the people; for it must be obvious to every one, that it is impossible to fulfil their engagements, and to go to Philadelphia, to procure specie for a single dollar, would perhaps only be insulted and laughed at. That this opinion prevails, the present depreciation is a convincing proof; for we obtain forty-five dollars of this emission for one in specie.

Among the various fruits upon this continent, there is one that seems peculiar to this province, named the persimmon, and which, until meliorated by several sharp frosts, is not eatable, or scarcely to be tasted. Many of us were deceived by this fruit, when ripe and hanging on the trees, it having the appearance of an Orlean plumb; but which we found possessed of such powerful astringent qualities, as to contract the mouth to such a degree, that it was several hours before we regained the sense of taste; of this fruit the inhabitants, in some parts, brew a liquor called persimmon beer.

Animals resorting to the woods are extremely fond of its flavor, particularly the bears, who come from a great distance in quest of it, especially on the approach of winter, at which time the inhabit-

ants chace and mostly kill them, as they are unable to regain the mountains before the dogs overtake them. If they reach the mountains, the pursuit after them is attended with danger, on account of the vast number of carniverous animals resorting there in abundance. An accident was near happening to an officer who, with some others, and a few inhabitants, were in pursuit of a bear at the foot of the mountains; at the very instant, a ferocious animal, which I described in a former letter, called the mountain cat, was going to spring upon him. One of the inhabitants observing it, with his rifle shot him through the head, and it fell dead to the ground.

There is in this province, what I never recollected to have seen in any other, a large ravenous kind of bird that feeds on carrion, nearly as big as an eagle, called a turkey-bustard, from having red gills, resembling those of a turkey, whence it derives its name. It seems to be a species of the kite, hovering on the wing like that bird, and being carniverous. The inhabitants kill them for the sake of their feet, which dissolved into an oil, is esteemed very salutary in the sciatica, old aches and pains.

You would scarcely credit, from the laborious and harrassing life the negroes lead in this country, that the passions of love and jealousy should act very powerfully on them, naturally concluding, that their whole ideas would concenter in one, that of rendering their miserable situation a state of comfort, yet so forcibly do those passions operate

on their minds, they are continually poisoning each other, thro' disappointment, or jealousy: what is remarkable, they can administer the poison that it shall affect the life for a longer or a shorter period, agreeable to their ideas of revenge on the object. The owner of our plantation has had several female negroes poisoned, some of whom have lingered out a life for six or eight months after, and others again, only a week or a fortnight. There was one remarkably stout wench, who expired on the eighth day after being poisoned; the decay of nature was remarkably visible from the second day, and she only complained of a violent pain in her head, and a constant sickness at the stomach; when medical assistance was called in, it was pronounced impossible to counteract the poison, unless what the poison consisted of, could be known which though in frequent use amongst the negroes, had never yet been discovered.

Although we have been now near a twelvemonth in this province, the soldiers fare little better than on their first arrival; for the greatest part of the summer they have been thirty and forty days, at different periods, without any other provision delivered to them than the meal of Indian corn. Great quantities of salt provisions have arrived at the barracks, but owing to some defect in airing, and the heat of the climate, are in a state of putrefaction; some person advised the American Commissary to bury the meat in the earth for a few days, and it would regain its purity, which, when dug up,

and although swarming with vermin, he insisted was exceedingly good, only a little tainted with the weather, which the utmost care could not prevent, and served it out to the soldiers as so many days ratio of meat. All complaints by General Phillips to the Governor of the Province were of little avail, he receiving for answer, that it was the concern of Congress, and what did not affect the government of his state. There are hopes, however, that the disputes of the soldiers will be remedied, as both General Phillips and General Riedesel, who were a short time since exchanged, and gone to New York, purposed, in their way to that city, to obtain an audience with General Washington, and lay those grievances before him; if that was impracticable, it was the intention of the Generals to lay the situation of the troops before Sir Henry Clinton, and through him to seek redress, by an application to General Washington. As to redress from the Americans, little is to be expected, though their Commander in Chief possesses humanity that reflects the highest honour on him; he has not been able, notwithstanding so much loved and esteemed, to diffuse that benevolence and god-like virtue, among those who look up to him for protection. The only hope we can any way rely on is, that Sir Henry Clinton will, in compassion to the sufferings of the troops, use every exertion in his power to effect a general exchange this winter. Should that take place, I may venture to affirm, that he will not have braver troops in his army; for the soldiers, from the cruelty

and ill usage they have continually experienced, since they became prisoners, will fight to desperation.

Great numbers have deserted, with a view to get to New-York, rather than endure such distress, they certainly had no other inducement, as many of them communicated to their officers their intentions, previous to their desertion, requesting a certificate, that on that day there was due to them so much pay and so many years clothing, which we could refuse no more than we could their desertion, but to be candid, rather than be witness of the hardships the men experienced, which were out of our power to redress, we rather connived at it, as we well knew that producing certificates from their officers, if they were so fortunate as to reach New-York, would ensure them a favorable reception with the Commander in Chief. Near an hundred have reached New-York, and about sixty or seventy have been taken up, brought back and confined in a picketed prison near the barracks, where numbers would have actually been starved, had not relief been afforded them by the officers, who furnished them with provisions at their own expence.

Among the deserters, there was a party of twenty who appointed a serjeant at their head to command them, and previous to setting off, swore a most solemn oath, strictly to adhere to a set of rules drawn up by the serjeant, in the nature of the articles of war, but the penalties inflicted in case of breach of

any of these articles were singularly curious — being no less than death — immediate instantaneous death — to be hanged upon the next tree, and others equally as tremenduous, the only one tending to mercy was cutting off the offenders ears. The whole party excepting one, who was apprehended as out upon a scout for provisions, got safe to New-York. I should observe to you that this dissertion is among the British troops, the Germans not feeling that *amor patriæ*, besides they are fully content, being upon the same pay as the British troops, which is near four times as much as they receive in their own country, and for what reason it is impossible to say, but the Americans shew more indulgence to the Germans, permitting them to go round the country to labor, and being for the most part expert handicrafts, they realize a great deal of money, exclusive of their pay, and as the generality of the German troops are only soldiers raised for the war, upon their return to their own country, will become persons of property, excepting the regiments of the Prince of Hesse Hanau's body guards, and General Riedesel's dismounted dragoons, which are two well-disciplined regiments, the rest of German troops were such as little service could be expected from, and when we reflect on the manner they were raised, who could be surprized that they did not act with more alacrity during the campaign; for the mode of obtaining these subsidies, was as follows: When application was made by our court to Germany for troops, the Prince caused

every place of worship to be surrounded during service, and took every man who had been a soldier, and to embody these and form them into regiments, he appointed old officers, who had been many years upon half pay, to command them, or on refusal of serving, to forfeit their half pay, thus were these regiments raised, officered with old veterans, who had served with credit and reputation in their youthful days, and who had retired, as they imagined, to enjoy some comforts in the decline of life. Only picture to your imagination, ensigns of forty and fifty, commanding of troops not much younger, and judge how proper they are for an active and vigorous campaign, in the thick woods of America.

It being the universal opinion throughout the army, that we shall remain prisoners the remainder of the war, the British officers have contributed to render their situation as comfortable as the nature of the country will possibly allow, and to promote association, they have erected a coffee-house, a theatre, and a cold bath, to tense up the relaxed state of the body, the intense heat of the climate occasions.

Having repeatedly mentioned to you the barracks, and their situation, and as any description would fall exceedingly short, I have sent you an accurate view of them. To form a just conception of the distresses and situation of the army on its first arrival, you are not to consider the place as the drawing represents it, but as a thick wood, and not a single tree cut down.

It is with the utmost concern I inform you of the death of your old friend W——, of our regiment, the relation of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. who I am persuaded, fell a martyr to the dire effects of that pernicious liquor, peach brandy, the circumstances attending his death being remarkable, I shall relate them. He had been on a visit a few days to some officers, and having made a little too free, during that time he became in a state of insanity, the first instance he shewed of it was getting up in the dead of the night, and walking several hours in the snow barefooted, till his feet were frost-bitten, he had been absent near four hours before he was missed, and upon his companions going in search of him, he was found parading before the door, they conducted him into the house, and applying the usual remedy, all danger of a mortification was removed from being frost bit. The next morning he was frequently asking for a knife to cut a stick, which his companions always contrived to evade giving him, and on their quitting Charlottesville, at which place they had slept, they intended to conduct him to the barracks for advice, but on his expressing a desire to return to his own quarters, they indulged him in his request. It is said that persons laboring under that most calamitous affliction, are possessed of extreme cunning, to deceive those they suspect of watching their actions. He, poor fellow, fully demonstrated it, for keeping up a very rational conversation as they rode along, not discovering the least symptoms of any one

insane, till they arrived at an exceeding steep hill, at the foot of which was a rivulet, where they stopt to water their horses, seizing this opportunity, he left them and rode his horse as fast as he could make him go up the hill, his two companions pursued, but he being better mounted, was soon out of sight, they followed the track of his horse in the snow, till it turned into the woods, and concluded any further pursuit would be vain by themselves, they hastened to their quarters, which was not a mile distant, for assistance. By this time night had come on, nevertheless, a party of ten or a dozen with lanthorns, went various roads, and into the woods, which they traversed best part of the night, but could not observe the least trace of him; the next morning they renewed the search, and about five miles off, in a bye place, found his horse fastened by the bridle to a fence, close by a rivulet, to which they could trace the feet of a man upon the snow, they followed the track till they came upon the ice, which led them to the bend of the current under a hanging rock, where the river had not been frozen over, and which, by the rapidity of the current of that place, seldom did, and there it is imagined he fell in, before he came to this the ice twice gave way, but being shallow, he had scrambled out. His companions could not long remain in suspence, for sending his servant back for one of his shoes, on his return they found it exactly fitted the track in the snow, and from his horse being so near, it left little room for doubt. However, some short time

after, all doubts were removed, as the body was found — poor man — I did the last sad office with a heavy heart — but his memory will be sincerely lamented, by those that knew him.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXX

Barracks, Charlottesville, in Virginia,
April 18, 1780

MY DEAR FRIEND,

LITTLE has transpired of intelligence worth relating, unless a repetition of grievances and hardships, during a long and severe Winter, and all hopes or expectation of any exchange taking place; there has been a meeting of Commissioners from both armies for that purpose, but they could not agree to the different proportions of exchange, as to the number of soldiers in lieu of an officer. As to my sentiments upon this head, or any the least tending to politics I am debarred from, as this letter must undergo the examination of the American Commanding Officer; therefore, being confined, I shall give you my observations and remarks on the customs of the country, and whatever may concern our army, as they occur to memory, which, though you allow to be tolerable, is not so great as Cæsar's, who forgot nothing but injuries.

Since I have been in Virginia I never could assign the reason why the oxen and sheep should be so small, having such abundance of grass during the summer, in the unlimited range of woods; but the winter has fully demonstrated the cause, which arises from the planters paying such little attention to their cattle during the inclement season, by

which means they starve the young ones, or at least stint their growth, so that they but very seldom grow so large as if they were better managed, being content if they can but save their lives; and though they suffer them to be so poor in the winter, yet they presently grow fat again in the spring, which they esteem sufficient for their purpose. This is the reason their beef and mutton is neither so large nor so fat as in England; their flesh, however, is esteemed delicate, and has certainly a fine flavor.

Among the curious plants growing in America, none contribute more to the beauty of the spring than the dogwood, which grows in great abundance, and, when adorned with its numerous white flowers, appears delightful. The wood is very hard, and breaks into small fibres; for want of such necessary implements as tooth-brushes, we substitute this wood. The inhabitants have a custom of tying a branch of this tree round the cattles' neck, when they fall down exhausted by heat in the summer, imagining that its virtue contributes to their recovery.

There is another tree rather peculiar to America called the tulip tree, and it creates astonishment, in the spring to behold trees of such a magnitude, for they are very large and lofty, bearing a flower for a fortnight together in shape, size and colour resembling tulips. The leaves grow in a very peculiar shape; from whence the tree has, in some places, the appellation of the old woman's smock, imagining a resemblance below the leaves.

The log huts in which the soldiers reside, although erected such a short time, are become extremely dangerous, the timbers being nearly destroyed by an insect that is in the bark of the tree, which, for want of the nourishment it receives from the turpentine whilst the tree is growing, preys upon the solid part of the timber; and these insects, from the destruction as well as the noise they make, have the appellation of sawyers, and is certainly a very proper one; for I have seen timber, nearly the circumference of one's waist, which had not been cut down above six months, that upon stripping off the bark, there was nothing but the appearance of saw-dust, with a vast number of these insects, resembling a large grub-worm.

The soldiers have been so indifferently supplied with provisions, the barracks swarm with rats of an enormous size, and notwithstanding each hut has a cat or two, they are very troublesome, and with every precaution, they are continually destroying the men's cloaths and bedding during the night; it is no very uncommon thing to see them running six or seven, one after the other, in the interstices of the logs with which the huts are constructed.

You may recollect, on our first arrival in this province, I mentioned that a number of duels were fought, and what partly occasioned them. They have of late been frequent amongst the German officers, but from different motives — disputes at gambling. Their manner of fighting is rather singular. Each party goes to the field with a second, and

after stripping to the shirt, advancing, shake each other by the hand, draw their swords, and cut and slash each other till one party relinquishes the contest; and, unless the inveteracy is very obstinate, the conflict is over upon the least appearance of blood on either side; this is deemed a sufficient proof of their courage and justification of their honor. Most of the duels among them have ended in this manner except one, where the combatants mutilated one another in a most shocking manner, as nearly to endanger each other's life.

It is no little pleasure to me that I am unrestrained from communicating and opening myself freely to you, since I began this letter, as an opportunity has occurred of sending it without inspection by an officer who has received an account of his being exchanged. By the mode that I intended to send this, which was by a flag of truce returning to New York, I wrote several others; some were franked by Col. Bland and others by Col. Sherwood, the American Officers commanding the troops at the barracks. The former behaved with true politeness and liberality of sentiment; he only required an officer to pledge his word and honor, as a gentleman, there was nothing political contained in the letter, on affirming which, the Colonel desired the letter to be sealed, and on it wrote, Examined, and signed his name. The latter, with an inquisitiveness, accompanied with rudeness and impertinence, not only read every letter, sentence after sentence, but made animadversions on them;

the Colonel, like most persons possessed of an impertinent curiosity, met with a severe rebuke from Lieutenant Charlton of the 20th regiment, but I am afraid he was too ignorant to take the sense of it. After he had read his letter, and seeing the name of Charlton signed to it, the Colonel exclaimed, "Charlton, Charlton! I recollected a cap-"tain of a ship of that name, who had a relation "that was a name-sake of mine." — "Very prob-"ably, Sir," replied Charlton, "and there may be "one of that name in my family; but I'll venture to "say, if there is, he possesses more liberal ideas and "principles than the American *Sherwoods*."

Some short time since I became acquainted with a Colonel Walker, who has lately been elected a Delegate to represent this State in Congress. The usual hospitality of the country presides at his house; but what renders it unpleasant, the family will chiefly converse on politics, but always with moderation. I was much pleased with a very noble and animated speech of the Colonel's father, a man possessing all his faculties with strong understanding, though considerably above eighty years of age. One day, in chat, while each was delivering his sentiments of what would be the state of America a century hence, the old man, with great fire and spirit, declared his opinion, that "the Americans "would then reverence the resolution of their fore-"fathers, and would eagerly impress an adequate "idea of the sacred value of freedom in the minds "of their children, that it may descend to the latest

"posterity; that if in any future ages they should "be again called forth to revenge public injuries, to "secure that freedom, they should adopt the same "measures that secured it to them by their brave "ancestors."

To you, so conversant with the world, I need not say, that there are a class of people continually at variance with themselves and all the world, and whom nothing can please. When one of such a description gets into the army, you cannot conceive how very unpleasant it is to have any concerns with him, especially if he is regardless of life. Sensible that an officer must accept a challenge, he does not hesitate to deal them in abundance, and shortly acquires the name of a fighting man; but as every one is not willing to throw away his life, when called upon by one who is indifferent of his own, many become condescending, which this man immediately construes into fear, and presuming upon this, acts as if he imagined no one dare contradict him, but all must yield obedience to his will.

One of this unhappy disposition has lately broke forth from the recluse manner in which he lived, having only one associate, of a similar disposition, and wished to ingratiate himself with the officers at large. There was no keeping him at a distance by formal civilities, as he would intrude at all times and seasons. Being a little known to an officer who resides with us, he came one day to dinner; and with the idea that he would lay under no obligation for it, invited the whole mess to dine with him. On

the day appointed, there came on a most violent snow storm, and in the morning we dispatched a servant with an apology. He sent word back, "that, by God, he had provided dinner, and he ex- "pected us;" and we had no alternative, but either to encounter a ride of near four miles in a heavy snow storm, or, in all probability, a madman the next morning. The day was, without exception, the most unpleasant I ever passed in my life; for after we arrived at his quarters, on his having occasion to quit the room, his companion shewed us a brace of pistols that lay under his pillow, which he constantly slept with, and which he had fresh loaded and primed that morning, that if any dispute arose, it might instantly be decided without leaving the room.

Such conduct cannot be considered in any other light than insanity, for a pretended indifference for life does not proceed from true courage; if these vaunters meet with one equally as indifferent, and receive a check, they cannot brook it. Such was the fate of this unhappy man, and so overwhelmed was he with shame, that he put a period to his existence, in the following singular manner.

One Winter's evening, when sitting round the fire in the coffee-room, having some occasion or other to leave it, he laid his cane in one chair and his gloves in another, and on quitting the room, said, "let me see who dare meddle with them be- "fore I return." In the interim an officer came in, who being very cold, took one of the chairs and

drew near the fire; the company told him that they were Mr. ——'s chairs, and what he had said, when he replied "Damn him, one chair is enough "for his cane and gloves, and him too, I think." — Shortly after his return, he enquired with eagerness, who had presumed to meddle with his cane and gloves, when the officer told him he had, and that he thought in such severe weather every man ought to be content with one chair, upon which he began to break out in a most violent passion, "that "his dignity and himself were insulted in the gross-"est manner:" when the officer stopt him short, by saying, "Mr. ——, I have often heard of you as a "fighting man, but never was in your company be-"fore, now Sir, I have only to tell you as to fighting, "I care as little about it as you do, and, by God, "Sir, if you say another word on the subject, I'll "throw you behind the fire." From the most violent passion he became instantly calm, sat down in his chair and never spoke another word, but in about ten minutes left the room. That he should meet with such a rebuff, accompanied with a threat, operated so powerfully on his mind, that the next morning he shot himself; and his manner of performing that deed was singular, as he was found in a shallow stream, where the water did not cover the body, with a pistol in one hand and another on the bank loaded.

Numbers of officers have lately been exchanged; from whence the partiality proceeds I cannot surmise, but am inclined to think it must arise from

the interest of their friends, at head quarters at New York. Notwithstanding I am destitute of any one to make an application for my exchange, I am not without hopes it will shortly happen; for not long since an American officer, Capt. Van Swearingham, of whom I made mention as being taken prisoner during the campaign, visited the Barracks. I immediately sought him out, in hopes that, in return for the civility shewn him, his gratitude would prompt him to render me a service. Accordingly, on waiting on him, he expressed great pleasure at seeing me, but infinite regret at my being still a prisoner, as he fully concluded that both Lieut. Dunbar, as well as myself, had long since been exchanged; and I had the mortification to find that, ignorant of our names, he had described our persons to an officer of our army who was going to New York, and wishing to seize the favourable opportunity of serving his friends, said they answered the description, and giving the Captain their names, they were exchanged in lieu of us. However, as he was going directly to head quarters, it should be his first business with Gen. Washington to effect our exchange. On taking my leave of him, your favorite adage of *Nil desperandum* instantly occurred to my mind; and I am not without hopes, in a short time, of once more visiting my native shore.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXI

Winchester, in Virginia, Nov. 20, 1780

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AT receiving a letter, dated from this place, you will perhaps conceive it is to acquaint you, that shortly after you'll see the person who wrote it. I am not, however, as yet, so fortunate; and not without just cause of apprehension, that the bustle and hurry of the campaign has obliterated from the memory of Capt. Van Swearingham, that such persons as Dunbar and myself exist. And when I inform you this town is not in the extent of our parole, your curiosity no doubt will be excited, as to the cause of my being at it; and your surprize will be no less, on being informed that the whole army are on their march, Congress being apprehensive, from Lord Cornwallis's over-running the Carolinas, that it is his Lordship's intention, by forced marches, to retake our army.

About six weeks ago we began our march from Charlottesville Barracks, the army moving in the same manner as we left New England; but as to the place of our destination, that is yet unknown: we understand it is to some of the northern provinces. At present we remain here, till a matter in dispute is adjusted by Congress between this province and Maryland, as the latter absolutely refused the army's entering that state, apprehensive we were

to remain there; in consequence of which such a body of men would greatly distress the inhabitants in so small a province; and they actually, in arms, opposed our crossing the Potowmack.

You may naturally conclude the murmurs of the officers were great, having been given to understand that they were to remain at the Barracks till exchanged; and many had laid out considerable sums to render their log huts comfortable against the approaching winter, as they had suffered severely from the cold during the last, being unable to keep a sufficient fire without imminent danger, as the chimneys were built, as is the custom of the country, with wood; and therefore, to remove all fears of any accident, most of the officers had stone ones erected. You will scarcely credit it, when I tell you my miserable log hut, that was not more than sixteen feet square, cost between thirty and forty guineas in erecting. Some officers, who had reconciled their minds, with an idea that they should not be exchanged till the termination of the war, had laid out great sums in making themselves comfortable habitations; for the Barracks became a little town, and there being more society, most of the officers had resorted there. The great objection to residing at them, on our first arrival, was on account of the confined situation, being not only surrounded, but even in the woods themselves. I am apt to think that Col. Harvey, the proprietor of the estate, will reap great advantage, if the province should not; as the army entirely cleared a space

of six miles in circumference round the Barracks.

After we quitted the Barracks, the inhabitants were near a week in destroying the cats that were left behind, which, impelled by hunger, had gone into the woods, and being so numerous, they were apprehensive, by their encrease, they would in a short time be unable to extirpate; exclusive of which, there was reason to suppose they would become extremely wild and ferocious, and would be a great annoyance to their poultry.

We crossed the Pignet Ridge, or more properly the Blue Mountains, at Wood's Gap, and though they are considerably loftier than those we crossed in Connecticut, termed the Green Mountains, we did not meet with so many difficulties; in short, you scarcely perceive, till you are upon the summit, that you are gaining an eminence, much less one that is of such a prodigious height, owing to the judicious manner that the inhabitants have made the road, which, by its winding, renders the ascent extremely easy.

After travelling near a mile through a thick wood, before you gain the summit of these mountains, when you reach the top you are suddenly surprized with an unbounded prospect, that strikes you with awe and amazement. At the foot of the mountains runs a beautiful river; beyond it a very extensive plain, interspersed with a variety of objects, to render the scene still more delightful; and about fifty miles distant are the lofty Allegany mountains, whose tops are buried in the clouds.

Winchester is an irregular built town, containing between three and four hundred houses. It was last war, as it is at present, the rendezvous of the Virginian troops, in excursions against the Indians. By an inhabitant who resided in this town during the last war, I was informed, that before we reached Fort du Quesne, the country round about it was greatly ravaged by the Indians, who committed horrid barbarities, and the town itself was in great danger, and would certainly have been levelled with the ground, and its inhabitants massacred, had not Col. Washington (the present famous General) erected a fort upon an eminence at the north end of the town, that fully protected it; notwithstanding the Indians were so bold as to venture in sight of the town, but never within reach of the fort.

The remains of this fort are still to be traced. It appears to have been a regular square fortification, with bastions at each angle, and the length of the curtain between eighty and ninety feet. The barracks are still remaining, which will contain, with ease and comfort, near five hundred men, but upon an emergency would contain twice as many, as is the case at present, there being near that number of our soldiers now quartered in them. These barracks are constructed of logs, in the nature of those at Charlottesville, but upon a far more extensive scale. Since the commencement of the war, the Americans have picketted them in, and converted them into a place of security for prisoners of war.

There appears to have been some attempts to make a dry ditch round the fort; but from the rock being impenetrable, it could not be accomplished.

The water at Winchester is very unpleasant to the taste, which I am induced to believe arises from the limy nature of the soil. It affects strangers with excessive gripings, which we severely felt; and it was laughable enough to observe our morning salutations, accosting each other with faces distorted with pain, and execrating the water and the country in general. The inhabitants say that it is a specific against many diseases.

It was no little mortification to be informed, that within a day's ride of each from Winchester, were a number of natural curiosities, and that we were debarred from visiting them. Therefore I must describe them after the manner they were related to me by one of the inhabitants.

About thirty miles from Augusta Court House, there is a rock, which the inhabitants say was that which Moses struck with his rod, for out of the side of it bursts a torrent of water; and what adds to its beauty, the water, after running some distance through a meadow, rushes down a perpendicular precipice near two hundred feet deep.

Twenty miles from this place there is a most curious cave, running near a mile under a rock, in which are phænomena that I must leave philosophers to account for. These are two springs, the one being equal in heat to the warmest bath, and the other equal to the coldest; they are about a foot asunder,

and separated by the natural rock. As both springs possess many medicinal virtues, so each of them is made into convenient baths.

Near these springs is a river, which in some measure resembles the river Mole: the only difference being, that the Mole, although it loses itself under ground, at some miles distant makes its appearance again; whereas this river sinks under a mountain and never more rises, and therefore is very justly called Lost River.

Two natural curiosities, within a morning's ride of Winchester, we did obtain permission to visit. The one was a cave or well, formed by nature; at certain periods a person may descend near two hundred yards, and at others it overflows in great abundance; by the inhabitants it is called the tide well, in allusion to its ebbing and flowing. What considerably adds to this wonderful production of nature is, that for many miles around there is neither mountains, nor any running water, and it is situated in a level country. The other, although considered a curiosity in this country, cannot be deemed so by those who have visited the Peak in Derbyshire; it being six or seven caves in a rock, that communicate with each other.

The Americans, for a length of time, flattered themselves that France would send succours and assist them, which report we considered merely raised to revive the spirit of the people, and to rouse them from their lethargy; for at the commencement of the present year, their affairs were

in such a state, that the majority were totally indifferent on which side the contest would terminate, sensible that their situation could not be more distressing. But to those strongly attached to the cause of America, judge how their hopes must have been revived, when intelligence came that France had actually sent them succours, with assurances of assisting them in the most effectual manner. From this period the Americans vauntingly boast, that it is impossible for Great Britain to overcome them, and that in a short time they shall witness the British armies being driven from the continent of America. Equally as this intelligence raised their spirits, so did it depress ours; naturally concluding, that although France might take advantage of our unhappy contest with the Colonies, by seizing on our territories either in the East or West Indies, she would not have been the abettor of Rebellion, especially when it is considered she had territories of her own nearly in the same predicament. But France! France! sorry am I to say it, to gain a superiority in political intrigues, you are indifferent by what arts or means it is accomplished.

In a former letter I described what an amazing strong mode of defence block-houses were; and a transaction has lately occurred, that not only reflects the highest encomiums of honor and bravery on those that defended it, but is a very convincing proof of the veracity of my assertion.

This block-house was erected by a party of seventy American Loyalists, that took post on the

shore of Hudson's River, opposite New York, to secure them from a surprize, or sudden incursion of Washington's army, and not without just cause of apprehension; for a most furious attack was made upon them by near two thousand of the Americans, with seven pieces of cannon, commanded by Gen. Wayne, and notwithstanding a cannonade of three hours, almost every shot of which perforated the timbers, and several attempts to carry the place by assault, the enemy were repulsed with great loss, leaving behind many killed and wounded; and on their retreat the brave seventy pursued them, took several prisoners, and regained some cattle that they had plundered from the neighbouring plantations.

By an officer just left Washington's camp, we have received the melancholy account of the death of Major André, the Adjutant General of the British army, who was taken as a spy, in negociating a business with Gen. Arnold, which, if it had succeeded, would have nearly been the overthrow of the Americans. This officer was present at his execution, who said, that he met his fate with that courage and manliness of behaviour, that deeply affected every one present, and that his severe destiny was universally lamented: so much was he esteemed, that Gen. Washington shed tears when the rigorous sentence was put in execution. When he found that his fate was inevitably fixed and determined, and that all intercessions and every exertion of Sir Henry Clinton, to save his life, were in

vain, he became perfectly resigned; so extremely composed was his mind, that the night previous to his execution, he drew the situation of the Vulture sloop, as she lay in the North River, with a view of West Point, which he sent by his servant to a general officer at New York. The only thing that any way discomposed him, or ruffled his mind, and at which his feelings appeared hurt, was the refusal of Gen. Washington to let him die a military death. In regard to this circumstance, the officer informed us, that Gen. Washington would have granted his request; but, on consulting the board of general officers who signed his condemnation, they deemed it necessary to put that sentence in force, that was laid down by the maxims of war; at the same time evincing the sincerest grief, that they were forced to comply with, and could not deviate from, the established customs in such cases.

By the account this officer gave us of his being taken, it appears that Major André was too confident of being out of danger; for when the three men that took him prisoner accosted him, they enquired whether he was of the Upper or Lower Party, [Here it is necessary to explain these to you — the Upper Party consisted of the partizans of the Americans, and the Lower Party of the American Loyal Refugees, they reside in New York.] he replied of the Lower Party, naturally conceiving, from the small distance he was from New York, they could be no other; upon which they undeceived him, and said he must go with them, for he was

their prisoner. When too late he perceived his mistake, and endeavoured to convince them to the contrary, by producing a passport which he had obtained from Gen. Arnold, in the name of John Anderson.

This seemed to have its intended effect, as they released him, and suffered him to proceed without farther trouble; but he had not gone many yards, when one of the young men recollecting that he appeared greatly confused, and that there was something in the stranger's face that struck him forcibly with an impression of some peculiarity, insisted upon his companions returning to examine him more strictly.

This recollection was decisive and fatal to André, who was little accustomed to, or prepared for such encounters, as the officer told us he confessed himself, in his letter to Gen. Washington, where he says, "He was too little versed in deception, to "practice it with any degree or hope of success;" for upon these young men returning back, he offered them a considerable purse of gold, a very valuable watch, and innumerable other temptations, with the fascinating offers of permanent provisions for life, if they would either let him pass, or accompany him to New York. In vain was every lure, and every argument; they continued inflexible, steady to their purpose, and conducted him prisoner to Washington's head quarters.

Had Major André, when first accosted, replied "of the Upper Party," he would have met with no

hindrance. Had they been, as he supposed, of the Lower Party, he would have been taken prisoner upon making that declaration, and his person would have been easily recognized upon his arrival in New York; but the hasty declaration, that he was of the Lower Party, led to his unhappy destiny.

As it is much easier to point out errors than correct them, I shall quit this melancholy topic with observing, that it is very evident from the time Major André undertook his arduous commission, till he met his severe fate, that he displayed a resolution and strength of mind requisite for great actions, which no doubt would, at some future day, have rendered him an ornament to his profession, and, by some brilliant atchievement, adored by his King and Country.

What are termed these Upper and Lower Parties are mostly known to each other, and possess great inveteracy on both sides; and it is no uncommon thing, when two parties meet, to observe the nearest ties of kindred opposed to each other. Both parties range at large between the British and American lines, and it has more than once happened, when two parties have met at the same place, that there has been a cessation of hostilities, they have sat down to a good supper, and spent a jovial evening. At parting they agree to go in different directions, and after a certain specified time have again met and fought most desperately.

The Americans have circulated a report that there has been a great riot in London, that the

Members of both Houses of Parliament had been grossly insulted, that a number of houses had been burnt and all the prisons set open, with other reports equally as ridiculous. We give the Americans great credit for raising them, as their motives are answered by it, that of keeping up the spirits of the people, and to impress their minds with an idea that Great Britain must relinquish the contest. They are too absurd to be credited by an Englishman. Pray be particular in your next, if such a thing has really happened, which it is almost too absurd to suppose. Surely we have enemies enough to contend with abroad, without any broils at home. It is really too ridiculous and absurd to imagine that such an event has taken place, or to give it a moment's thought.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXII

Frederick's Town, Maryland, April 12, 1781

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN a few days after my last letter we left Winchester, to proceed on our march to this place, it being settled by Congress that the army is to remain here till some situation should be fixed on; but the inhabitants think this only a deception, to grant permission for entering the province, and that we are to remain in this town.

Quitting Winchester, we recrossed the Blue Ridge at Williams's Gap, and in our march to this place there was little worthy notice, except the Shennando River, which is exceedingly romantic and beautiful, with a variety of falls; and the water is so transparent, that the pebbles may be seen at the depth of seven or eight feet. There are plenty of trout and other fish; but it is not navigable even for canoes, on account of the innumerable rocks that are under water; and, in transporting goods down the river, the inhabitants make use of rafts. When we crossed, it was nearly frozen over.

Upon our arrival in this town, I was not so fortunate in obtaining such comfortable quarters, as when I last past through it; being obliged to put up at a miserable dirty tavern, with two other officers, at which we remained till the final determination of Congress, as it was fully thought we were to proceed further to the northward.

We remained only nine days at this tavern, and upon quitting it the landlord gave us the following curious Bill, which I send you by way of specimen of the American mode of charging.

1780.	Lieut. Anberry,			D^{r}.
Dec. 19.	To 3 breakfastes a 12 dollars -	£.	13	10 0
	To 5 ditto for servants a 10 dollars		18	15 0
	To mug syder 30. 8 quarts oats a 1½ dollar 90 - - - - - -		6	0 0
	To 3 diners a 15 dollars £. 16 17 6. 1 quart beer 45 - - - -		19	2 6
	To 3 supers a 12 dollars £. 13 10 0. ditto servants £. 18 15 0 - -		32	5 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 2 supers servants 75 - - - - - -		9	16 3
20.	To 1 lodging 30. stabling and hay 3 horses a 12 dollars 13 10 0 - -		15	0 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 3 breakfasts 13 10 0 - - - - - -		18	11 3
	To 3 breakfasts for servants 11 5 0. mug syder 30 - - - -		12	15 0
	To 4 diners a 15 dollars 22 10 4. 4 do. servants 15 0 0 - - - -		37	10 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 2 mugs syder 60. 2 do. beer 90 - - -		12	11 3
	To 3 supers 13 10 0. ditto for servants 11 5 0 - - - - - -		24	15 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3 - - -		5	1 3
21.	Stabling and hay 3 horses day and night - - - - - - -		20	5 0
	To lodging 30 a 15 ds. 3 ditto a 12 ds. 13 10 0 - - - - -		15	0 0
	To 3 mugs beer 6 15 0. mug syder 30		8	5 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 9 qts. ditto 5 1 3. ditto 5 1 3 - - -		15	3 9

To 3 supers a 12 ds. 13 10 0. ditto
for servants 11 5 0 - - - 24 15 0
22. To lodging 30. stabling and hay 3
horses day and night 20 0 0 - 21 15 0
To 3 quarts oats 5 1 3. 3 breakfasts
13 10 0 - - - - - 18 11 3
To 3 breakfasts for servants 11 5 0 11 5 0
To 18 quarts oats 10 2 6. diners
16 17 6 - - - - - 27 0 0
To 2 mugs syder 60. mug beer 45 - 5 5 0
To 3 supers 13 10 0 - - - 13 10 0
23. To lodging 30. stabling and hay 3
horses day and night 20 0 0 - 21 15 0
To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 3 breakfasts
13 10 0 - - - - - 18 11 3
To 18 quarts oats 10 2 6. 3 diners
16 17 6 - - - - - 27 0 0
To 1 mug syder 30. mug beer 45 - 3 15 0
To 3 supers 13 10 - - - - 13 10 0
24. To lodging 30. stabling and hay for
3 horses day and night 20 0 0 - 21 15 0
To 3 breakfasts 13 10. 15 quts oats
8 14 3 - - - - - 21 11 3
To corn 10 quts 7 10 0. Diners
16 17 6 - - - - - 24 7 6
To 2 mugs beer 90. 1 mug syder 30 6 0 0
To 4 supers 18 0 0 - - - 18 0 0
25. To lodging 30. stabling and hay 3
horses day and night 20 0 0 - 21 15 0
To 3 breakfasts 13 10 0. 3 diners
16 17 6 - - - - - 30 7 6
To 32 quarts oats 18 0 0. 3 supers
13 10 0 - - - - - 31 10 0
26. To lodging 30. stabling and hay 3
horses day and night 20 0 0 - 21 15 0
To 3 breakfasts 13 10 0. 2 diners
11 5 0 - - - - - 24 15 0

To 3 mugs beer 90. mug syder 30 yesterday - - - - -	6	0	0
To mug syder 30. diner 5 12 6. Bowl tody 60 - - - - -	10	2	6
To 2 quarts oats 22 6 - - -	1	2	6
	730	10	0
To 4 quarts ditto 45 - - -	2	5	
True balance £.	732	15	0
To the hier of the dineing room, hard money - - - - -	1	15	

Errors excepted,
Per ROB. WOOD.

Jan. the 3d, 1781. Recd of Mr. Thos. Amberry, Seven hundred and thirty-two Pound fifteen Shillings, in full for the Paper Currency Account above.
Per ROB. WOOD.

After perusing the articles of the bill, and finding them just, as was customary, I asked the landlord what he would allow in exchange for hard money. He, being a staunch American, flew into a violent passion, saying, "He was surprized I should make "him such an offer; that there were rascals enough "already to ruin their country, by selling and traf- "ficking in paper; and that, for his part, he knew "no difference between Congress money and King "George's." I begged him to be pacified; that in half an hour I would settle his bill; when, with the utmost insolence, he replied, "I swear now, if it "an't settled by twelve o'clock, I swear I'll send the "sheriff after you, and you'll soon see the inside of

"that place," pointing to the prison opposite his house.

You'll no doubt be surprized, that, for the fellow's impertinence, I did not give him a horsewhipping, which, had it been in England, a landlord would hardly have escaped. But, my dear Friend, we are become perfect Stoics, and it requires an infinite torture to ruffle our temper in the least. We have so long been accustomed to ill language and insolence from the inferior sort, that we really pay no more attention to it, than Gen. Phillips observed we should to the cackling of so many geese.

On my quitting the fellow to go in search of paper money, it occurred to me that he might employ some one to watch over me. I therefore went to the barracks and sent a serjeant, who soon came back, when I returned and paid him his bill of seven hundred and thirty-two pounds fifteen shillings; and observing the item of one pound fifteen shillings in hard money, I tendered him the sum in paper, retorting upon him his own words, that he knew of no distinction. The fellow appeared much confounded and ashamed; but as the charge was an agreement with his wife, who was to have it as a perquisite, for the entire use of the room, I paid the half-joe exclusive of the bill: no doubt the fellow would not have made the least scruple of conscience to have taken the whole amount in specie.

Your curiosity is raised to know at what rate I purchased the paper money to discharge the bill.

Know then, that the enormous sum of seven hundred and thirty-two pounds fifteen shillings, I discharged for about four guineas and a half. After this I think I need not mention any thing more of the depreciation of paper money.

It being determined by Congress that the army is to make some residence in this town, the men are quartered in very comfortable barracks, that were built by the Americans since the commencement of the war, are better supplied with provisions, and allowed many privileges, such as working for the inhabitants permitted to go into the country to purchase vegetables, &c. and since the men have been prisoners they have never enjoyed so many comforts. Such treatment is more likely to have the desired effect of Congress than ill usage, in tempting them to desert. So prevalent, indeed, has been desertion in our regiment, that it is now reduced to sixty men, including non-commissioned officers, and the other regiments are in proportion, all of which, in Canada, mustered four hundred and fifty.

The officers are quartered in the town and plantations around. My quarters are at a Col. Beattie's, of the militia, who, though strongly attached to the American cause, having a son in the Maryland regiment, in General Greene's army, is not without a penchant for a little of the *true touchstone*. The plea he makes to his countrymen for admitting us into his house is, that as he has a large family and must provide for them in the best manner possible.

Since our arrival in this province a person has introduced himself to the officers as a clergyman, and as one strongly attached to the British government. The inhabitants say that he was never ordained, and that he has created much confusion in various families by disavowing their marriage, he having no right to perform the ceremony. This has cut out abundance of work for the limbs of the law. He still performs Divine service at various churches, with all their regular duties. Whether his political principles are put on for the sake of our company and a little conviviality, I cannot pretend to say; but this much I can affirm as to his religious ones, that he followed St. Paul to a tittle, being "*all "things to all men:*" for he will swear with those that swear, and drink with those that drink.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXIII

Colonel Beattie's Plantation, near Frederick Town, in Maryland, July 11, 1781

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NOTHING will more fully illustrate the tyranny and oppression of Congress and its upstarts in power, than reciting two of the most flagrant acts of injustice, at the house of one Taylor, a Quaker, where Capt. Jameson, of our regiment, is quartered. One of the collectors, for a tax of forty-eight shillings, took from the stable a beautiful horse, worth near thirty guineas; and for another of about five or six pounds, they brought carts, and conveyed away a large stack of hay, of near forty pounds value. This passive man (who, I should inform you, was a true friend to Government, and in consequence greatly persecuted) made no other complaint than, "Well, let them "take — let them take all my stock, my farm, and "turn me out of my house, I have that by me that "will never let me want in my old age."

From his attachment to his Sovereign, and speaking his sentiments, he was continually threatened with imprisonment; but that, and every other persecution, he would bear with the utmost chearfulness and resignation, concordant to the principles of his religion. Nevertheless, at times, the poor old man would fetch a heavy sigh, as if his heart was

bursting with grief, and exclaim, "Ah, well-a-day! "little did I think, after the labor of my youth, and "training up a large family in the fear of the Lord, "this would have been the reward of my old age. "There, friend, (pointing to some extensive mead-"ows that were before his house) with these hands "did I clear that ground, and many a weary night "have I worked by light of pine wood, to leave my "children an inheritance, which is daily threatened "to be taken from me." Here his fortitude would be overcome; and, after a little respite, his final exclamation was, "The Lord's will be done."

Oh, Americans! if this is the basis on which you are to establish your independence, surely you must think there will be a day of retribution! And though it may not fall on your heads, the next generation may have cause to curse the calamities their forefathers have brought on them.

We daily expect to remove from this province, on account of the movements of Lord Cornwallis's army, which we understand is forming a junction with the troops landed in Virginia, under the command of Gen. Phillips and Gen. Arnold, and this state are not without apprehensions of a descent being made by the King's forces. Therefore to impede this progress, Gen. Washington has detached two strong bodies, one of continental troops, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, and the other consisting of the Pensylvania line, under Gen. Wayne. They passed thro' Frederick Town last month, and appeared to be mostly Scotch and

Irish, with a great number of blacks. They were badly cloathed, and so extremely mutinuous and discontented, that their officers were afraid to trust them with ammunition. I observed that they wore black and white cockades; the ground being the first color and the relief of the other. On enquiring the cause, a very pompous American replied, "It was a compliment to, and a symbol of "affection for, their generous and magnanimous "allies the French."

Our quarters have been rendered very disagreeable to us by an unpleasant circumstance, the death of the Colonel's son, who was killed at the battle of Camden, in the Carolinas. He, as well as the whole family, have taken it much to heart, and the house has been ever since a scene of lamentation. What renders it still more disagreeable is, whenever we meet the Colonel, he seems extremely anxious to be revenged upon us. We are seeking out for other quarters, but they are very difficult to be obtained.

At Easter holidays the young people have a custom, in this province, of boiling eggs in logwood, which dyes the shell crimson, and though this colour will not rub off, you may, with a pin, scratch on them any figure or device you think proper. This is practised by the young men and maidens, who present them to each other as love tokens. As these eggs are boiled a considerable time to take the dye, the shell acquires great strength, and the little children divert themselves by striking the eggs

against each other, and that which breaks becomes the property of him whose egg remains whole.

To impress the minds of his children with their glorious struggle for independence, as they term it, the Colonel has an egg, on which is engraved the battle of Bunker's Hill. This he takes infinite pains to explain to his children, but will not suffer them to touch it, being the performance of his son gone to camp; but now being slain, he preserves it as a relic. The Colonel favoured us with a sight of it, and, considering the small space, the battle is very accurately delineated.

As we imagined, orders are arrived for the removal of the army to York Town and Lancaster, at which places the officers are to be separated from the soldiers, and are to be quartered at East Windsor in Connecticut. Brigadier Gen. Hamilton has expressed great displeasure at this separation, which is directly against the terms of the convention; but after Congress have broke the most essential point, it is vain to remonstrate against such proceedings. We are now in their power, and they act with us as best suits their plan. The General gave out in orders, that if it was the desire of the troops, he would protest to Congress against the separation; at the same time adding, he well knew it would be in vain. He strongly recommended the soldiers to behave in every respect the same as if their officers were present, and, though separated, they should remember that subordination was due to the non-commissioned officers, who still had

authority over them. The General lamented that he was unable to furnish supplies of cloathing and other necessaries; therefore directed officers who had the payment of companies, to settle the men's accounts, and give them their balance to provide themselves, which most of them will be enabled to do, as the generality have twenty or thirty pounds to receive. To military men it will appear surprizing, but there was a private in the company I paid who had forty-five pounds due to him.

The troops have greatly diminished since they came to Frederick Town, not only by desertion but death, as numbers have fell a sacrifice to spirits, which are easily procured and at a cheap rate, as there are abundance of stills around the country, and the soldiers were in a continued state of intoxication. I need not tell you of the inordinate passion that soldiers in general have for liquor, and what a difficult matter it is to restrain them from it; but where it is continually before them, next to an impossibility. Within this fortnight we have lost two in a most melancholy way, who, during the absence of the man that attended a still on the Colonel's plantation, drank the liquor hot out of the pipe, and the next morning were found dead in their beds.

In a few days we set out on our march. If an opportunity occurs, I will write to you from Lancaster; but you may depend, upon my arrival in Connecticut, to hear from

Your's, &c.

I have unsealed this Letter, just to add a melancholy Postscript, of which we have this moment received tidings, the loss of that brave officer General Phillips, who died last month of a fever at Richmond. His skill and knowledge in all military concerns, not only in his early days received the approbation of that great commander Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, on various occasions in the last war in Germany; but justified such commendation by every part of his subsequent conduct: particularly in the unequalled duties, toils, dangers and hardships of our campaign. A circumstance attended his death, similar to the inhumanity that the Americans displayed at the interment of General Frazer. For them, whom we suppose were exasperated, some excuse may be pleaded; but that the Marquis de la Fayette, whose nation is so conspicuous for the quintessence of *les petites attentions*, should be guilty of such conduct, is astonishing. For notwithstanding a flag of truce was sent to inform him, that across the river, at such a house, General Phillips lay dangerously ill, and at the point of death, and to cease cannonading. This request was denied, an incessant fire was kept up, several balls went through the house, and one through the adjoining room to where General Phillips lay, just as he was breathing his last, which disturbing him, he exclaimed, "My God, 'tis cruel, "they will not let me die in peace."

LETTER LXXIV

East Windsor, in Connecticut, Sept. 2, 1781

My dear friend,

DISTRESSING and humiliating as the scene was, when we commanded our men to pile up their arms and abandon them on the plain of Saratoga, still much greater was the separation of the officers from the men at Lancaster. On the morning it took place the regiments were paraded near the barracks, which are picketed in, and converted into a prison. At a small distance was drawn up a regiment of continental troops, the Colonel of which behaved extremely polite, saying, he should not march the British troops to the barracks, till their officers informed him they were ready. When the Colonel was informed he might march the men, the American troops, forming a square around the British soldiers, conducted them to the prison.

The sight was too deeply affecting, and we hastened from the spot. Could you have seen the faces of duty, respect, love and despair, you would carry the remembrance to the grave. It was the parting of child and parent, the separation of soul and body — it effected that which the united force of the inclement seasons, hunger and thirst, incessant barbarity, adverse fortune, and American insults heaped together, could never have effected — it drew tears from the eyes of veterans, who would

rather have shed their blood. As far as sounds could convey, we heard a reiteration of "God bless "your Honors." It was such a scene as must leave an everlasting impression on the mind. To behold so many men, who had bravely fought by our side — who in all their sufferings looked up to us for protection, forced from us into a prison, where, experiencing every severity, perhaps famishing for want of food, and ready to perish with cold, they had no one to look up to for redress, and little to expect from the humanity of Americans.

It was extremely vexatious to be again disappointed in visiting Philadelphia, especially when in sight of it; but all entreaties to the Major who escorted us, for indulgence, were in vain. However we received some little compensation in passing through Bethelem, at which place is a settlement of the Moravians.

The tavern at Bethelem is upon an exceeding good plan, and well calculated for the convenience and accommodation of travellers. The building, which is very extensive, is divided throughout by a passage of near thirty feet wide. On each side are convenient apartments, consisting of a sitting room, which leads into two separate bed-chambers. All these rooms are well lighted, and have fire-places in them. On your arrival you are conducted to one of these apartments, and delivered the key, so that you are as free from interruption as if in your own house. Every other accommodation was equal to the first tavern in London. You may be sure our

surprize was not little, after having been accustomed to such miserable fare at other ordinaries, to see a larder displayed with plenty of fish, fowl and game. Another matter of equal surprize, as we had not met with such a thing in all our travels, was excellent wines of all sorts, which to us was a most delicious treat, not having tasted any since we left Boston; for notwithstanding the splendor and elegance of several families we visited in Virginia, wine was a stranger to their tables. For every apartment a servant is appointed to attend, whose sole business is to wait on the company belonging to it, and who is as much your servant, during your stay, as one of your own domestics. The accommodation for horses is equal, with servants to attend them. In short, in laying out the plan of this tavern, they seem solely to have studied the ease, comfort and convenience of travellers, and is built upon such an extensive scale, that it can with ease accommodate one hundred and sixty persons. General Phillips was so much delighted with it, that after he quitted Virginia, not being permitted to go to New York, on account of some military operations that were on foot in the Jerseys, he returned back near forty miles to take up his residence at it, merely on account of the accommodations.

The landlord accompanied us to the intendant, or the head of the society, who with great politeness shewed us every thing worthy of observation on the settlement.

The first place he conducted us to was the house of the single women, which is a spacious stone building, divided, similar to the tavern, into large chambers, which are, after the German mode, heated with stoves. In these the young women pursue various domestic employments, and some are employed in fancy and ornamental work; in all their apartments are various musical instruments. The superintendant of these young women conducted us to the apartment where they slept, which is a large vaulted room the whole dimension of the buildings, in which were beds for every woman. The women dine in a large hall, in which is a handsome organ, and the walls adorned with scripture pieces, painted by some of the women who formerly belonged to the society. This hall answers the purpose of a refectory and chapel: but on Sundays they attend worship at the great church, which is a neat and simple building.

The house of the single men is upon the same principle as that of the women; upon the roof of which is a Belvidere, from whence you have not only a most delightful prospect, but a distinct view of the whole settlement. We observed that the building was much defaced, which the superintendant informed us was occasioned by the Americans taking it from the young men, and converting it into an hospital for the sick and wounded, after the battle of Germantown; and, added he, "it is incred-"ible what numbers perished for want of proper "care and attention, and the hospital being ill sup-

"plied with drugs." Pointing to an adjoining field, he said, "There lie buried near seven or eight hun-"dred of the American soldiers, who died here dur-"ing the winter."

All manner of trades and manufactures are carried on in this place distinctly, and one of each branch; at these various occupations the young men are employed. Every one contributes his labor, and the profits arising from each goes to the general stock. These young men receive no wages, but are supplied with all necessaries from the various branches of trade. They have no cares about the usual concerns of life, and their whole time is spent in prayer and labor; their only relaxation being concerts, which they perform every evening.

These people, who are extremely shrewd and sensible, in a manner foreseeing the ill consequences attending a civil war, had, before its commencement, laid in great quantities of European goods, which they sent to their various farms interspersed around the settlement.

The Moravians are not only very assiduous, but ingenious too. They have adopted a sort of marriage, but from the manner of its celebration you cannot suppose that mutual tender endearments and happiness to subsist between the parties united as with us. A young man feels an inclination to marry, which does not proceed from any object he is enamoured with, for he never sees his wife but once before the ceremony takes place; it being contrary to the principles of their religion to suppose it

is from the passions of nature, but merely to uphold the society, that it may not sink into oblivion. The young man communicates his inclination to their priest, asking of him a girl to make his wife, who consulting with the superintendant of the young women, she produces her who is next in rotation for marriage. The priest presents her to the young man, and leaves them together for an hour, when he returns. If they both consent, they are married the next day. If there is any objection, both their cases are very pitiable, but especially the woman's, as she is put at the end of the list, which amounts to near sixty or seventy; nor does the poor girl stand the least chance of a husband till she arrives again at the top, unless the man feels a second inclination for marriage, for he never can obtain any other woman than the one with whom he had the first interview. This, I am induced to think, was the reason of there being such a number of old women among the single ones. Thus you see, my friend, that marriage and its inexpressible enjoyments, are not the result of the passions, but a mere piece of mechanism, set to work by chance and stopt alone by necessity.

When two parties meet and are united in marriage, a house is provided for them by the society, of which there are great numbers around the town; very neat habitations, with pleasant gardens. Their children of either sex, at the age of six, are taken from them and placed in the two seminaries, consequently they can have little affection for them.

When either of the parties die; if the woman, the man returns to the apartments of the single men, and if the man, the widow retires to a house that is built for that purpose.

The religion of the Moravians resembles more that of the Lutherans than the Calvinists; in one point it greatly differs from both, by admitting of music and pictures in their places of worship. Prayer constitutes almost a third of their employment; for exclusive of the daily public devotions in their great church, they attend service in their own chapels morning, noon and evening.

Setting aside their ridiculous mode of entering into the marriage state, and which to them is of little moment, I could not but reflect, if content was in this life they enjoy it. Far from the bustle of a troublesome world, living in perfect liberty, each one pursuing his own ideas and inclination, and residing in the most delightful situation imaginable, which is so healthy, that they are subject to few, if any diseases.

As want is a stranger, so is vice. Their total ignorance of the refined elegancies of life, precludes any anxiety or regret that they possess not wealth to enjoy them. Nevertheless they possess what many are entire strangers to, who are surrounded with what are termed blessings, those true and essential ones — health and tranquility of mind; and that you may ever enjoy them, though no Moravian, in a high degree of refinement, is the sincere wish of

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXV

Hartford, in Connecticut, Sept. 14, 1781

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THIS is deemed the capital of this province. It stands on the west side of the Connecticut River, and is situated about forty miles from the sea-coast.

We were shewn, among other things, the following curiosities, an house built in the year 1640 of American oak, the timbers of which were yet sound, and almost in a state of petrefaction. In it was born a Jonathan Belcher, Esq. who was Governor of this province as well as of New Jersey, and, by his upright administration, idolized by both states. The second was an elm tree, held as sacred as ever the oak was in the days of the antient bards of our own country the druids; as this elm, in some time of imminent danger, concealed the charter of the province. The third was a most wonderful well, which being dug near seventy feet, without the least appearance of water, the labourers met with a large rock, and on the miners boring this rock, in order to blast it with powder, they drove the auger through it, upon which the water spouted up with such amazing velocity, that it was with the utmost difficulty, with the assistance of a number of pumps and a fire-engine they could keep the well dry till it was stoned, which was no sooner accom-

plished than it filled and ran over, and has ever since supported, or rather formed, a brook, for above one hundred years.

The inhabitants of Hartford relate a ludicrous story of Whitfield, who travelled America in the hopes of sowing the seeds of Methodism upon this continent; and, from a sermon he preached at the great meeting in this town, you may be sure did not gain over the female part of his congregation; but was insulted, and obliged to take shelter in the first house that would admit him. The text he had selected was, "Anoint my eyes with eye-salve." After expatiating for a considerable length of time, to point out what was *not* the true eye-salve, he, in the usual cant of those fanatic preachers, says, "Now "I'll tell you what *is* the real eye-salve — it is "faith — it is grace — it is simplicity — it is virtue — "it is virgin's water. But, ah Lord, where can that "be found? Perhaps not in this grand assembly."

At a place called Symsbury are some copper mines that are exhausted of their ore, which are converted to a state dungeon; where, formerly, such offenders as the General Assembly did not chuse to punish with death were sent, shewing the humanity and mildness of the law; not but, in my opinion, they would have shewn it more considerably, by hanging up the unfortunate wretch: for in the course of a few months, after lingering out a miserable existence, the dissolution of nature puts a period to their pain. These mines were worked many years ago, the miners boring near half a mile

through a mountain, making large cells that are forty yards below the surface. The prisoners are let down by a windlass into this dismal cavern, through a hole, which answers the purposes of conveying their food and air; as to light, it scarcely reaches them. This place, since the commencement of the war, has been converted to the infamous purpose of imprisoning Loyalists, to make them renounce their attachment to their Sovereign, and yield obedience to Congress; and I am informed that numbers have been taken from their houses, by order of the Assembly, and after a slight examination where witnesses were easily procured, either through malice or interest, they have been hurried away to this dungeon, to drag on a short period of pain and misery, which, from the number of steady spirits who have been imprisoned and expired in it, may, with great propriety, be called the catacomb of loyalty.

There is an animal supposed to be peculiar to New England, called the cuba. This animal, as if sensible that his family rely on him for protection, is extremely tender of them, and never forsakes them till death dissolves the union. What further displays his magnanimity is, he never indicates the least anger to the female, though ever so provoked by her. What a charming lesson from nature is this to mankind; and how happy would the rational part of the creation become, if they did but pursue the examples of irrational animals.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXVI

New York, Sept. 25, 1781

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NEW HAVEN is remarkable for having given the epithet of pumpkin-heads to the New Englanders, which arose from a severe and religious code of laws, made at the first settlement of Connecticut; which enjoin every male to have his hair cut round by a cap, and when caps were not readily at hand, they substituted the hard shell of a pumpkin, which being put on their head every Saturday, the hair was cut by it all round the head. What religious virtue may be derived from this custom, it is difficult to find out; certainly there is much prudence in it, for it prevents the hair from entangling, saves the use of bags and ribbons, and prevents it from incommoding the sight by falling over the eyes. I am induced to think the custom arose from this cause, that as they were such enthusiasts in religion, and at the same time a lawless and profligate people, those who had lost their ears for heresy, should not conceal their misfortune and disgrace.

We passed by a meeting that was situated close to the sea shore, which about three Sundays since was surrounded by a party from Long Island, at the time of divine service, and the most notorious rebels, with the clergyman, were taken prisoners. Upon the alarm the confusion was great, the con-

gregation getting out as fast as they could, each man taking the first horse he met with, rode away full gallop. Some of our party, having mounted other horses, riding after them. An inhabitant, who resides near the meeting, informed us that it was a ludicrous sight; some galloping off with their neighbours horses, the owner running after to stop him; others seeking refuge in an adjoining wood; women screaming, shrieking and fainting; and as no mischief arose from it, it must have been truly laughable.

Upon our arrival at King's Bridge, it is impossible to describe the emotions of joy depicted in the countenance of every one; when we had passed the barrier, we felt ourselves once more at liberty and safe out of the hands of barbarians; for so many fortuitous circumstances had taken place from the time we were made prisoners, that, notwithstanding we received an official account of our being exchanged from the commissary of prisoners, and obtained our passports, still we did not conceive ourselves altogether emancipated, till we had got within the British lines.

The island of New York, at King's Bridge, is joined to the continent by a small wooden bridge, and the country around is very rocky and mountainous. The river, which separates the island from the continent, is a safeguard against any sudden invasion of the enemy, and the works that are thrown up, which are exceedingly strong, are on such commanding situations, that an army would be cut to

pieces in attempting to pass it. This post is fourteen miles from the city of New York.

Our fleet is repairing after the action they have had with the French off Chesapeak Bay, and, when in a condition, are to sail with a considerable body of troops, which Sir Henry Clinton is to command himself, in order, if possible, to save Lord Cornwallis's army. I cannot describe the eagerness of both navy and army to effect it, particularly the former, who are using the utmost diligence and labor in the necessary repairs.

A day or two before we came here, Prince William Henry arrived from England, in the Lion of seventy-four guns, under the care of Admiral Digby. The Prince has been on shore, and visited most of the places in the city and the posts around it. He is very shrewd and sensible, making many pertinent remarks and observations. Not long since he accosted Lieut. Bibby, of our regiment, in the following manner: "Well, Captain Bibby, so "you are in the Adjutant General's office. I sup- "pose there are handsome perquisites." Bibby replied, "Upon my word, your Royal Highness is "misinformed; for no one in that office has more "than his bare salary." — "Indeed!" exclaimed his Royal Highness, with surprize: "Well, well, "then you should partake of those of the Commis- "saries and Barrack Master Generals; for, let me "tell you, they have emoluments enough for both."

The city of New York stands on the southern extremity of the island, and its situation is extremely

delightful; commanding such a variety of prospects, as are the most charming that can be conceived. The city is mostly built upon the East River, on account of the harbour. In many of the streets are rows of trees on each side, for shelter from the amazing heats in summer. Most of the houses are built with brick, very strong and neat, and several stories high; many of them have balconies on the roof, where company sit in the summer evenings, to enjoy the prospect of the opposite shores and harbour; and the roofs are covered with shingles. The streets are paved and clean, but in general very narrow; there are two or three, indeed, which are spacious and airy. The length of the town is somewhat more than a mile, and the breadth of it about half a mile. The situation is reckoned healthy, but subject to one great inconvenience, which is the want of fresh water.

There are several public buildings, tho' but few deserving attention. There were two churches, the Old or Trinity Church, and the New one or St. George's Chapel, both very large; the former was destroyed by fire: by the remains it appears to have been in the Gothic taste. The latter is built upon the model of some of the new churches in London, and opposite to it is a spacious square, where stands the park of artillery. Besides these two, there are several other places of worship, consisting of two Low Dutch Calvinist churches, two High, one French; meeting houses for Lutherans, Presbyterians, Quakers, Anabaptists, Moravians, and a

Jews synagogue. There is a very handsome charity school for sixty boys and girls, a good workhouse, barracks for a regiment of soldiers, and an exceeding strong prison. The court-house is not so considerable as might be expected for such a city, and is now converted into a guard-house for the main guard.

The original fort was quadrangular, capable of mounting sixty pieces of cannon, but now there are great additions. In this fort stands the governor's palace, and underneath the fort is a battery capable of mounting ninety-four guns, and barracks for two companies of soldiers. Upon a small island, opposite the city, is an hospital for sick and wounded seamen.

The North River is somewhat more than two miles over to Paulus Hook, where there is an exceeding strong work opposite New York. On account of the exposure to the north winds, and to the driving of the ice, in the winter, ships cannot anchor there at that season of the year, and therefore lay up in the East River, it being the safest and best, though the smallest, harbour.

The sea near New York affords great quantities of oysters, as well as variety of other sea fish. Lobsters were extremely plentiful, of an enormous size; but after the cannonade at Long Island they forsook the coast, and not one has been seen since. The manner they first came upon the coast is rather singular, for although New England abounded with them, none were ever caught here; but this city was

supplied by the New Englanders, who brought them in great well-boats. One of these boats coming thro' the Sound, and passing Hell Gates, a very dangerous rocky part, struck and split to pieces, and the lobsters escaped; after which they multiplied very fast, and were caught in great abundance, till frightened away by the noise of the cannon.

Having mentioned a place with such a tremendous name as Hell Gates, it may not be amiss to describe it, which I am enabled the more fully to do, having one afternoon, with a party, made a trip up the Sound and passed this dangerous spot. We left New York, with a fair and strong breeze, near upon the height of tide, as at any other time it is impassable, and in about two hours passed through Hell Gates. It is really impossible to do this, without calling to mind the description of Scylla and Charybdis. The breadth of the Sound at this place is about half a mile, but the channel is very narrow, not exceeding eighty yards. The water rushes with great rapidity and in various currents, only one of which will carry a vessel through with safety; for on one side there is a shoal of rocks, that just make their appearance above the water, and on the other a dreadful vortex, produced by a rock lying about nine feet under the surface, which is termed the pot, and draws and swallows every thing that approaches it, dashing them to pieces upon the rock at the bottom; at stated times of the tide this tremendous whirlpool boils furiously

like a pot, and at others sucks every thing into it like a funnel.

Nearly opposite to Hell Gates lies another reef of rocks, which, that it may bear some resemblance of horror, is named the Devil's Frying Pan. The noise made by the water in rushing over them, may be compared to that of water poured upon red hot iron. This also draws vessels towards it, to their inevitable destruction.

There are exceeding skilful pilots to navigate through these dangerous straits, notwithstanding which ships are frequently lost. Before the war, it was deemed an impossibility for a top-sail vessel to pass; but since the commencement, fleets of transports, and the frigates that convoyed them, have ventured and accomplished it.

But what is still more extraordinary, and displays a noble instance of courage and intrepidity, that gallant seaman, Sir James Wallace, conducted his Majesty's ship the Experiment, of fifty guns, through this dreadful channel.

At the time d'Estaign lay off Sandy Hook with a superior force, and blocked up the harbour of New York, he dispatched some ships of the line round the east end of Long Island to cruize in the Sound, and to intercept any of the King's ships. At that time Sir James Wallace was cruizing at the mouth, and perceiving the French vessels, sailed back into the Sound. The French pursued, certain of the prize. Sir James saw his danger, and being unable to engage such a superior force, rather than the

ship should fall into the enemy's hands, made the bold attempt to pass through Hell Gates; which was the wonder and astonishment not only of the French, who were obliged to return much chagrined, but of all the captains of our fleet; as it was ever deemed a rashness to attempt, but was accomplished by an act of necessity.

This afternoon I went down to the beach, to see the whale boat set off with dispatches for Lord Cornwallis's army, and you cannot conceive how elated the crew were, entertaining an idea of conveying tidings that would make them joyfully received.

As these are open boats, and have so many leagues to sail before they reach the Chesapeak, you must necessarily conclude the voyage to be attended with imminent danger. Their intention is to coast along shore, but may be frequently driven out of sight of land; the last boat that came from Lord Cornwallis, was in that situation for three days. They easily evade being taken, as they can sail in shallow water, and keep close in shore. The boats that pass between the two armies have little apprehension of being captured, except in passing through the French fleet at the mouth of the Chesapeak.

Your's, &c.

LETTER LXXVII

New York, Oct. 30, 1781

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THOUGH Long Island is in our possession, still towards the east end there are continual scouting parties of the Americans, that cross the Sound from the Connecticut shore, whose sole business is to plunder the inhabitants, and pick up prisoners.

On crossing the East River from New York you land at Brooklyn, which is a scattered village, consisting of a few houses. At this place is an excellent tavern, where parties are made to go and eat fish; the landlord of which has saved an immense fortune this war. At a small distance from the town are some considerable heights, commanding the city of New York. On these is erected a strong regular fort, with four bastions. To describe the works thrown up by the Americans upon this island, would be bestowing more attention on the subject than it deserves, as they actually cover the whole. They are not only on grounds and situations that are extremely advantageous and commanding, but works of great strength, that I am at a loss to account for their so hastily abandoning them, as they were certain by such a step to give up New York. I am induced to believe, that Gen. Washington thought the Americans were so panic-struck after the engagement, as our troops pursued

them close to their lines, that they would not stand an assault; and if his lines were carried he was sensible there was no place of retreat, and that his army must inevitably have been destroyed.

Long Island is the largest island from Cape Florida to Cape Sable. It is one hundred and thirty miles in length and about fifteen miles in breadth, and from its formation derives its name. The south side, next to the Atlantic, is low, level and sandy, with extensive bays within the land, near the length of the island; on that side opposite the continent, the lands are high, hilly and broken, but with a number of fine bays and harbours. A chain of hills runs through the middle of the island, the whole length of it, from which there is an extensive view of the ocean and the adjoining continent.

The Plain is a perfect level, and what is a phænomenon in America, has not a tree growing upon it. The soil is said to be incapable of producing trees, or any vegetation except a coarse grass, and a kind of brush-wood or shrub which seldom grows higher than four or five feet, and that only on a particular part of the plain.

The soil of this plain is a black earth, covered with a kind of moss, and under the earth, which is of a spongy quality, is a bed of gravel, which, consequently absorbing the heaviest rains, prevents the water from remaining on the ground; it therefore naturally follows, that in wet seasons there is abundance of grass, and in dry ones it is entirely parched up.

The plain supports great quantities of cattle, sheep and horses, which are supplied with water from the ponds made by the inhabitants in different places, and, that they may retain the rain, have clay bottoms; for what is equally as remarkable as the plain itself, there are no springs or running water throughout its whole extent. This plain is of the nature of our commons in England, having no inclosures, and almost uninhabited, except a few public houses for the convenience of travellers.

It is impossible to describe the anxiety of every one when the fleet left this place, in full hopes and expectation, although it had to fight its way through a much superior force, it would have been the means of saving the gallant and brave army under Lord Cornwallis; but language is unable to describe the feelings of every loyal subject, when the fleet returned, unable to effect so noble a purpose; for three days before the fleet made the Chesapeak, that gallant army had surrendered to the combined forces of France and America.

When the British fleet left Sandy Hook, Gen. Washington had certain intelligence of it, within forty-eight hours after it sailed, although at such a considerable distance as near six hundred miles, by means of signal guns and alarms. A very notorious rebel in New York, from the top of his house, hung out the signal of a white flag, the moment the fleet got under way, which was immediately answered by the firing of a gun at a small village about a mile from our post at Paulus Hook; after that a con-

tinual firing of cannon was heard on the opposite shore; and about two days after the fleet sailed, was the period in which Gen. Washington was so pressing for the army to surrender. There is a secresy to be observed in war, necessary to the well-conducting of plans, and the execution of any particular measure that is concerted, which, being disclosed, all is frustrated. This was the case in the present instance: the sailing of the fleet, by a villain under the mask of a Loyalist, was revealed to the Americans; and to similar causes may be accounted the many fatal calamities attending our army upon this continent.

The loss of Lord Cornwallis's army is too heavy a blow to be soon or easily recovered; it evidently must change the face of affairs: for the war which commenced in this country, and ought to have been maintained in the offensive, must now degenerate into a dishonorable defensive; and if Great Britain is determined to overcome the Colonies, she must send out a very numerous reinforcement in the spring, or the surrender of Lord Cornwallis may be considered as the closing scene of the whole continental war in America.

I have taken my passage in the Swallow Packet, which the latter end of the week sails for England. I preferred coming home in the packet rather than a transport, not only as it is a better sailing vessel; and having more hands is in less danger of being captured; but the transports in general are so exceedingly crazy, and their bottoms so very bad,

owing to their laying up such a length of time in rivers, that they are unable to withstand the boisterous winds and waves of a winter's passage.

As this is the last letter you'll receive from me in America, permit me, before I bid a final farewel to it, to make some few reflections on this unfortunate contest.

Although America, through France and her naval power, may gain independence, she will find in what an aukward predicament she has involved herself, and how convulsed the provinces must be for a length of years. As a new state she must maintain or establish her public character, and is bound, by every tie of policy, not to desert her allies.

Alas, deluded Americans! When too late, you'll repent your rashness. Let me impartially ask the most sensible among them, When the Independency is established, will they possess that freedom and liberty as under the English government? If their answer is impartial, they must declare, Certainly we shall not; but in a few years *perhaps* we may. That period, I am afraid, is at a great distance.

Much, indeed, are they entangled in the cabals of a French court, which will, sooner or later, not only endeavour to enslave them in reality, but dispossess them of their southern provinces. It is not without just grounds I assert that e'er half a century elapses, America will be suing that protection from the mother country, which she has so ungrate-

fully despised, to screen her from the persecutions and tyranny of France. They are conscious of being happy before this unfortunate revolution, and will feel that they are no longer so; they must inevitably regret that change in sullen silence, or, if they have any thing like spirit left, rouze into arms again.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXVIII

On board the Swallow Packet, St. Mary's Harbour, in the Islands of Scilly, Dec. 8, 1781

MY DEAR FRIEND,

ON the day after our arrival here, Lord Dalrymple, who had the charge of Sir Henry Clinton's dispatches, apprehensive that the packet might be detained for a considerable time by contrary winds, and anxious to deliver dispatches of so much importance to the nation, hired a small fishing boat, and, notwithstanding it blew a hard gale, regardless of the imminent dangers of the seas and surrounding enemies, so much had he the public service at heart, that, nobly braving them, he, at the utmost risk of his life, set sail in it from this place, accompanied by the Earl of Lincoln, who was a passenger on board the packet. From a lofty eminence we saw the boat leave these islands, while the sea ran so tremendous high, that it was thought by every one they never could reach the English coast.

Strangers who land here, are conducted to the spot where the body of that famous Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel was found, after his shipwreck in the year 1707. It was in a small cove called Porthelisk near what is termed the Tolmens; and it is handed down by tradition that he was discovered naked, and only distinguished from the most ordi-

nary sailor under his command, by having round his neck a portrait of his royal mistress, on the reverse of which was engraved his name.

A sand-bank offering itself very opportunely, as if for the very purpose, he was interred under it. Whoever has seen the place, will allow it would have been doubly inhuman not to have buried him, whoever he was. For my own part, it recalled to my mind the argument that Archytas makes use of to bespeak the like friendly office.

> At tu nauta, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ,
> Ossibus & capiti inhumato,
> Particulam dare.
>
> Hor. Od. xxviii. lib. 1.

History informs us, that the body of this great man was afterwards taken up, and conveyed to Westminster abbey. A small pit on this sandy green, is still visible.

> Pulveris exigui parva munera. Ibid.

These islands are of great utility in time of war, as they afford protection to trading vessels and homeward-bound ships, which would by contrary winds, without this refuge, be obliged to beat about in the Channel, exposed to the danger of being captured by the enemy.

The not establishing a packet between these islands and the main, is an inconvenience to be lamented and a ground for censure. I am confident it would bring in a great revenue; for, during our stay, a packet of letters was given to the Captain

of our ship, nearly as large as that he has brought from New York. You would scarcely believe it, but they have been seventeen weeks without any intercourse with the country. Such an intermission of correspondence must be extremely detrimental to trade. A small ship of about forty tons, to pass and repass as the weather permitted, would, by freight and trade, not only repay expences, but be a handsome income to the owners.

The utility of a frigate being stationed here, was noticed to me by several of the inhabitants; for, during this war, a French cutter came into the harbour, with a view to cut away the ships at anchor; but a frigate happening to be there at that time, the cutter sheered off, and no other has since made its appearance; which must arise from the idea that a frigate is actually stationed in these islands.

The wind coming favorable, the Captain has desired the passengers to repair on board.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXIX

Falmouth, Dec. 15, 1781

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YESTERDAY afternoon we left Scilly Islands, and arrived at this place about one o'clock this morning. On going ashore, description would fall exceedingly short of the transports I felt on setting my foot once more on my native land.

We here learnt, that after a very dangerous passage, and being nearly captured by a French cutter, Earl Lincoln and Lord Dalrymple arrived safe at Penzance, and a few days ago passed through this place for town.

The former of these noblemen received a shock that must have sunk deep indeed. While they were changing horses, a hearse was setting off from the same inn for London; and on his Lordship's enquiry concerning it, he was told it was a corpse that had arrived a few days since in the Lisbon packet. His curiosity and his fears were awakened. It was the corpse of his brother, Lord John Pelham Clinton, who, a few months since, had gone over to Lisbon for the recovery of his health. A brother whom he panted to meet with — whose affection was his joy and his pride. Thus are our proudest hopes, like a tower, propt but by a broken reed, which is ever ready to break! Your own feelings can better express the situation of his heart, on

receiving the melancholy information than my pen is able to describe.

It is remarkable on the very day before we put into Scilly Islands, while we were in pursuit of the ship a-head of us, he expressed vast anxiety about his brother, as he had not had letters from him for some months, adding, with a gloominess, that he hoped he should have some accounts by the next packet. The ship then in sight proved to be the Lisbon Packet, which had his brother's dead body on board.

Having fully complied with your request, on my leaving England, of embracing every opportunity to let you hear from me, and as this will be the last of our literary correspondence, permit me, before I conclude, to apologize for any inaccuracies of expression, and every little fault that may have occurred. And if you can believe me diffident enough to distrust my own talents, cautious of assuming merit from your too indulgent opinion, and anxious to throw myself into your arms, it will evince the clearness of your judgment, and the sincerity of your friendship for

Yours, &c.

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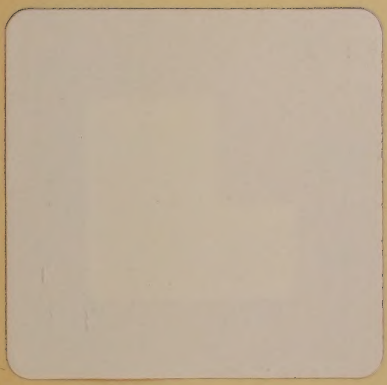

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